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NOTES.

IN an address which he recently delivered at Rangpur, Bengal, Mr. Skrine, one of the leading British officials, made some remarks of a most interesting and—unfortunately—unusual character. He said: "On my first arrival in India I was as full as most young Englishmen are of that which you term 'insular prejudices.' And, let me tell you, gentlemen, prejudices rest on solid foundation, and have had their share in making England what she is. The august mother of nations, whose history is a glorious record of battle for the right, of sacrifice for the common good, and of broadening liberties, may well claim the affection and pride of her sons. I wish that Bengalis had something of this pride, and something of the same reasons for it. But this sentiment is, after all, but a stepping stone to something better still. The first magistrate under whom I served was Mr. Wilfrid Healy, whose memory is still green in the hearts of countless friends. He said to me one day: 'Narrow sympathies mean deficient culture. When you are as old as I, you will have learnt that the framework of human nature is the same whatever may be the colour of the skin.' From that moment the conception dawned on me of the brotherhood of man; of the claim possessed by all our fellow-creatures on our love and pity. I resolved not to let a day pass without doing something to increase the scanty stock of human happiness. Let my last words to you be, Abjure the prejudices and prepossession of race and religion; sink private ambitions, pride, and self-aggrandizement; and labour for the common good. You will then have a sweet reward from your own conscience. You will secure the gratitude of others, for it is a libel on the people of this country to brand them as ungrateful. And you will be in sympathy with those who are the salt of the earth. It has been well said that there exists between tender and generous minds in all countries a sort of holy and natural freemasonry, which leads them to discover and acknowledge each other through the external differences of creed, language, and nationalities."

BECAUSE riots have occurred in Benares and Calcutta, the *Pioneer* sapiently suggests that local self-government institutions should be withdrawn from these cities.

HOW well an Englishman in India is seconded in his efforts at local improvement by the inhabitants of a locality is shown in a speech which Mr. Skrine, a Covenanted Civilian, recently made when leaving Rangpur, Bengal. Mr. Skrine, appealing to the Bengalis around him, said: "Looking backwards, I would ask you to say whether I have not laboured with a single heart to promote your welfare." He added: "A new Rangpur has arisen, embellished with works destined to improve public health and increase public convenience, and not without the means for gratifying the cravings in the human heart for relaxation and healthy amusement. Alone I could have accomplished little; and I take this opportunity of tendering an acknowledgment to those among my hearers who have given me their ready help."

WE congratulate Mr. F. X. D'Souza upon his unique success in the first part of the Law Tripos examination at Cambridge. Mr. D'Souza, who is an Indian by nationality and a Brahman Roman Catholic by religion, is a Government of India scholar, and was the only student placed in the first class of the above examination. Mr. D'Souza's academic career has been a series of brilliant successes; he having latterly also obtained a first-class studentship of the Inns of Courts—a distinction which though greatly to the credit of Mr. D'Souza, has, by the way, been justly deemed to gasp out its last existence from the next year. Mr. D'Souza is now preparing for the next year's open competition of the Indian Civil Service, where there is no doubt he will achieve great distinction.

THE War Office has won in the dispute between that Office and the India Office as to the alleged over-charge for stores. It will be remembered that Mr. Bradlaugh so strenuously pressed this matter in the House of Commons that it was agreed it should be referred to arbitration. In the Auditor's Report on the Indian Home Accounts recently published, Paragraph No. 4 thus states the result:

> With reference to the long standing dispute between the India Office and War Office respecting the prices charged by the latter Office for Warlike Stores, I have to state that Mr. Secretary Stanhope agreed to refer the several questions in dispute to an Arbitrator. Lord Cranbrook, who consented to act in that capacity, has given a decision on the several points referred to him to the following effect:—
>
> "After careful consideration of the documents laid before me by the two Departments, I have come to the conclusion—
>
> "That No. 2 Balance Sheet under which the India Office was charged, fairly represented the cost price of the articles supplied in accordance with the terms agreed upon between the War Office and India Office."

It is to be hoped, when Parliament reassembles, some hon. member will do what Mr. Bradlaugh, had he been living, would most certainly have done, namely, press for the publication of the whole particulars of the enquiry.

OF the expenditure incurred on account of the Indian troopships, only an infinitesimal portion is spent in India. The exact amounts respectively are:—

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Net Expenditure in England, as shown in the Home Accounts:		
Disbursements (page 15) ..	218,998 16 6	
Receipts (page 6)	27,802 5 4	
		191,196 11 2

Net Expenditure in India, as shown in Finance and Revenue Accounts:—			
Disbursements (page 174) ..	9,393 17 2		
Receipts (page 168)	6,202 1 0		
		3,191 16 2	

THE gigantic character of the transactions on behalf of India in England may be judged by the totals shown in the Home Accounts published by order of the House of Commons. Nearly £30,000,000 are shown on either side of the accounts—an amount far in excess of the total revenues of some important States. We have space here only for the final entries on either side in the Accounts, and the totals. They are:—

Receipts.

REMITTANCE ACCOUNT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA:

	£	
Repayments by Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments, in respect of Advances in India on account of Emigration of Coolies, Chelsea Out-Pensioners paid in India, Supplies to Her Majesty's Ships on the East India Station, etc.	161,882	
Estates remitted from India by Administrators General by means of Bills on London	30,160	
East Indian Railway Company: Transfer Fees and Miscellaneous Refunds ..	2,196	
South Indian Railway Company: Ditto (after date of purchase of the Undertaking)	1,214	
Miscellaneous Receipts	4,184	
Bills of Exchange and Telegraphic Transfers on India	15,969,034	
		16,168,670
Total Receipts		£23,551,799
Balance, 1st April, 1890 ..		5,402,873
		£28,954,672

Expenditure.

REMITTANCE ACCOUNT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA:

	£	
Payments to Her Majesty's Treasury and other Public Departments on account of Postal and Money Order transactions, etc.	184,137	
Family Remittances, Remittances by Administrators General, etc.	95,653	
East Indian Railway Company: Advances for purchase of Stores, etc.	186,662	
Rajputana-Malwa Railway: Advances for purchase of Stores, etc.	128,952	
South Indian Railway Company: Ditto, ditto (after date of purchase of the Undertaking)	72,874	
Bengal and North Western Railway Co.: Advances for purchase of Stores, etc. ..	5,584	
Stores chargeable to Provincial and Local Funds, and to Native States	122,332	
Interest and Brokerage on Conversion of India 4½ per cent. Rupee Loans into 4 per cent. Rupee Loan	70,063	
Miscellaneous Payments to be bought to charge or recovered in India	60,059	
		926,316
Total Disbursements ..		25,119,925
Balance, 31st March, 1891		3,834,747
		£28,954,672

MR. SCHWANN, M.P., was prevented attending the House of Commons on Indian Budget night, by a severe attack of lumbago. The hon. gentleman was prepared to take part in the debate. The topics upon which he would have spoken, as will be seen elsewhere, are the elective principle in Councils' reform and the treatment of coolies in Assam.

THERE is a net charge of £3,791 3s. 11d. in this year's Home Accounts in respect to the care of lunatics. The charges are thus set out:—

Receipts.	£ s. d.
Royal India Lunatic Asylum, Ealing:	
Pay, pensions, &c. of inmates, appropriated to their maintenance	2,491 18 2
Sale of farm produce, &c.	90 0 6
	2,581 18 8
On account of the maintenance of two lunatics in Broadmoor Asylum, &c.	118 11 11
	2,700 10 7

Expenditure.	
Royal India Lunatic Asylum, Ealing:	
Salaries and allowances of the staff, board and clothing of the lunatics, and other expenses	6,204 12 7
Maintenance of lunatics elsewhere than in the Royal India Lunatic Asylum	287 11 11
	£6,492 4 6

The Indian ryot, of course, pays the difference.

IT would be interesting to see the details of the cost of lighting the Viceregal Lodge at Simla. The amount must have been considerable. "The pay," apart from voyage and other expenses, "of an engineer while engaged in connection with the installation of the electric light in the Viceroy's residence," comes to no less than £561 1s. 6d. Unfortunately, the particulars cannot be called for in India: in England every detail of such a matter would be available.

There must be a large number of officers in India studying the Russian language. The pay and expenses of these gentlemen in the year ending March, 1890, was £8,590 4s. 8d.

NEARLY five lakhs of rupees were expended in the "Scientific and other Departments" by the India Office in last year. The details are:—

	£ s. d.
Objects of a literary, scientific, or antiquarian character	1,823 13 5
Expenses attending the preparation of the "Fauna Indica"	2,046 7 8
Purchase of stallions	5,342 1 9
Deputation allowance of the Archæological Surveyor of India while employed in this country, &c.	97 17 10
Contingent expenses of the India Museum collection at Kew	553 0 0
Preparation of tide tables for Indian ports ..	781 19 0
Grant to an expert in recognition of his labours in the discovery of a process for the extraction of crystallized alkaloids from Chinchona ..	1,000 0 0
Remuneration to officers and others specially employed, and miscellaneous expenditure	793 2 7
	12,438 2 3
Stores for India	14,847 2 4
	£27,285 4 7

Accounts of so fragmentary a character as these would not be accepted on English estimates. Much more detailed information would be required.

LAST year the "Examination Expenses and Allowances of Candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service of India" was no less than £20,051 1s. 6d.

IT is claimed for Cooper's Hill College that it is not a burden on the Indian revenues. According to the latest accounts available it was, last year, a burden to the extent of nearly £5,500. The particulars as abstracted from the accounts are as follows:—

Receipts.	£ s. d.
Fees and caution money received from students	22,742 16 9
Receipts for testing work done in the laboratories; and sale proceeds of provisions, farm produce, &c.	2,428 16 0
Adverse balance	5,436 11 2
Total	£30,608 3 11

Expenditure.	
Salaries of president, professors, &c.; wages of servants; provisions, and contingent expenses	24,491 13 6
Refund of Caution Money to Students .	300 0 0
	24,791 13 6
Cost of alterations and additions to the college buildings	809 19 5
	25,601 12 11
Salaries and expenses, while gaining practical experience in their profession, of students retained in this country after having passed out of the Royal Indian Engineering College ..	4,356 11 0
Passage to India of officers on appointment ..	650 0 0
	£30,608 3 11

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS REFORM.

THE following correspondence between the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Secretary of State for India, respecting the reforms prayed for by the Congress and the abandonment for a second time of the Government Indian Councils' Bill, is published for general information:

BRITISH COMMITTEE
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:
25, CRAVEN STREET, CHARING CROSS,
LONDON.

BRITISH COMMITTEE:
Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart., Chairman.
W. C. Bonnerjee. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P.
W. S. Caine. Dadabhai Naoroji.
A. O. Hume, C.B. C. E. Schwann, M.P.
J. E. Ellis, M.P. George Yule.
Wm. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary.

May 4th, 1891.

From Sir W. WEDDERBURN, Bart.,
Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

To the Right Hon. VISCOUNT CROSS, P.C., G.C.B., etc., etc.,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress understand that copies of the authorized Report of the Sixth Indian National Congress have been submitted in India to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, in view to their transmission to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. But, in case this transmission should have been delayed, I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee, to forward herewith thirty copies of the English reprint of this Report, for the favour of your Lordship's consideration, with special reference to the Bill which has been brought in by Sir John Gorst to amend the Indian Councils Act, 1861.

2. As your Lordship is, no doubt, aware, it is the urgent desire of the Congress party in India that the elective principle should be recognized in this Bill. Regarding the best method by which this can be effected there has been much debate in the Congress at each of its meetings, beginning in 1885. But the arrangement now recommended proposes to leave the method to be adopted entirely to the decision of the Government. Our Committee earnestly trust that, on a consideration of the facts and arguments adduced, your Lordship will be pleased to take a favourable view of this question. For purposes of ready reference a Draft is herewith forwarded (Appendix A),* showing how the Bill would stand supposing the prayer of the Congress Petitioners were granted. Appendix B* shows, in the form of Amendments, the modifications sought to be introduced into the Bill.

3. With regard to the other reforms prayed for by the Congress, the Committee trust that three simple but important matters of administration will receive your Lordsoip's early and favourable consideration: (*a*) The reduction of the Salt Tax from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 per maund; (*b*) The separation of judicial and executive functions; and (*c*) the raising of the minimum of incomes liable to Income Tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000.

4. In conclusion the Committee desire respectfully to assure your Lordship that in pressing these reforms upon Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and upon the Houses of Parliament, the Congress petitioners are only anxious to render any assistance in their power, and they believe that by making known the feelings and wishes of the loyal Indian population, they are doing what in them lies to facilitate the work of Government, and to strengthen the foundations of British rule.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most obedient servant,
W. WEDDERBURN, *Chairman.*

13th May, 1891.
India Office,
Whitehall, S.W.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt yesterday of your letter of the 9th inst., which will be laid before the Secretary of State for India in Council for his consideration.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
A. G. MACPHERSON.

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.

July 20th, 1891.

From Sir W. WEDDERBURN, Bart.,
Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

To the Right Hon. VISCOUNT CROSS, P.C., G.C.B., etc., etc.,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

In continuation of their letter of the 4th of May last, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress feel it their duty to express the deep regret with which they view the withdrawal by Her Majesty's Government of the Indian Councils Amendment Bill, and respectfully to bring to your Lordship's notice the fact that bitter disappointment will be caused throughout India by the abandonment, for yet another year, of any action in a matter of such paramount importance to our Indian fellow-citizens. The question of Councils Reform has now been prominently before the Indian public for many years; on all hands it is admitted that changes suited to the progressive condition of the country are urgently needed; and successive Viceroys have expressed their opinion that the time has come to modify the provisions of the Act of 1861 in such a direction as will give a more full expression to the feelings and requirements of the Indian people. Indefinite delay in dealing with this question must, therefore, undoubtedly produce most unfortunate results in India, giving force to the complaint that the affairs of India are habitually neglected by the Imperial Parliament, and that matters of the most vital interest to our unrepresented Indian fellow-subjects are postponed in favour of measures, though of quite inferior importance, which affect any class of British electors.

The Committee will not conceal from your Lordship that, in their opinion, the Bill introduced by Sir John Gorst was altogether inadequate, and that no measure which fails to recognize substantially the elective principle, will give satisfaction to the educated and influential classes in India. But they hoped that during the passage of the Bill through its various stages, facts and arguments would have been placed before Parliament which might have induced Her Majesty's Government to adopt such modifications of their original proposals as would have satisfied the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people, and effected a settlement of this disturbing question for a considerable period of years.

Under these circumstances the Committee trust that, as Secretary of State for India, your Lordship will be pleased so to use your influence with Her Majesty's Government that the amendment of the Indian Councils Act, and the other reforms prayed for on behalf of the Indian people, may be dealt with in Parliament at the earliest possible opportunity.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most obedient servant,
W. WEDDERBURN, *Chairman.*

21st July, 1821,
India Office,
Whitehall, S.W.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst., which will be laid before the Secretary of State for India in Council for his consideration.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
A. G. MACPHERSON.

To Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.,
Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.
25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, London.
23 *July*, 1891.

July 24th, 1891.

From Sir W. WEBBERBURN, Bart.,
Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

To Sir ARTHUR GEORGE MACPHERSON, K.C.I.E.,
Secretary in the Judicial and Public Department, India Office.

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 21st inst., acknowledging the receipt of the Committee's communication of the 20th idem, I shall esteem it a favour if you will bring to the notice of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India that, as it is expected that the question of the Indian Councils Bill will be brought before Parliament during the debate on the Indian Financial Statement, the Committee propose to publish the correspondence for the information of members of the House of Commons. The Committee will, therefore, be glad to know whether they may expect to receive any further communication from the Secretary of State.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant,
W. WEDDERBURN, *Chairman.*

28th July, 1891.
India Office, S.W.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th inst., addressed to Sir Arthur Macpherson.

In reply I am desired to say that Viscount Cross regrets that circumstances for which Her Majesty's Government were not responsible should have rendered it impossible to proceed further at present with the Indian Councils Amendment Bill. His Lordship, however, hopes that the measure will be re-introduced at the earliest opportunity and dealt with effectively during the next Session of Parliament.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
HORACE WALPOLE.

Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart.,
Indian National Congress,
25, Craven Street, Strand.

* These Appendices are not printed here.

"INDIAN EXPORT AND FAMINE PRICES."

"INDIAN BREAD FOR BRITISH MOUTHS."

The *Anti-Jacobin*, the new weekly paper conducted by Mr. Frederick Greenwood, a paper Tory to the backbone, is not the place in which we should look for a recognition of the fact that things in India, so far as the masses are concerned, are not what they ought to be. In a recent article, however, significantly headed "Indian Bread for British Mouths", "A Roving Observer" is given a most prominent position in which to state that the rather formidable riot which took place at Benares last April "was attributed primarily to some interference with a small temple by the construction of new waterworks, but also to the underlying cause of distress produced by the high price of bread stuffs." There is much truth in this observation. The high prices which now prevail throughout the whole of India, but especially in Northern India are the cause of terrible suffering. Why should the prices of food in India now be so high as compared with what they were in the early British, and pre-British, times? The correspondent from whom we have quoted, says:

"Whether or not this last cause had anything to do with the Benares disturbance, there is no doubt that the high price of corn in India in recent times has caused a good deal of distress and discontent. To the peasant who grows the wheat high prices may be a benefit, provided that his circumstances enable him to reserve enough food for himself and his family and to sell the overplus at the most advantageous time and the best price. But it is believed that more often than not the peasant is entirely in the hands of his village money-lender; and that he is obliged, in payment of interest on his standing debt, to make over to that individual his whole crop at the Bunnia's own valuation, so that the profit derived from the high market prices goes into the hands of the usurer. In the towns at any rate and among the large rural classes who are not landholders, the high prices are simply calamitous. This spring, just before the harvest, the stocks in the north of India were so exhausted that the price was almost equal to that of famine years. The natives complain that in old days, before the exportation of corn began, food was sometimes cheap and sometimes dear, according to the character of the harvest, but that now prices remain in all years on a high level. In the Punjab, at any rate, leading natives have frequently represented to the English authorities that the distress due to the high prices was great, and that the high prices were caused by the buying up of wheat by European firms for exportation to England."

This explanation is good so far as it goes, but it does not tell all the truth, nor the more serious truth, viz., that the higher assessment of lands and the increase of taxation have, we speak on the authority of North-West officials, been one of the chief causes why the increased price of produce has so little benefitted the cultivator. The Government has a share, a very large share, in the creation of the present lamentable condition of affairs. While things are bad so far as the cultivator is concerned, how about the consumer?

FOOD IS NOW, ON AN AVERAGE, TWICE AS DEAR AS IT WAS EARLY IN THE CENTURY.

Whereas, *in England*, eighty years ago, the quartern loaf was 1s. 2d., sometimes more, and is now considerably less than half the price, while other articles of food have become greatly cheaper, and wages are now much higher, with work in abundance, *in India*, the exact reverse of things exists. There, while wages have slightly risen, and that only in the neighbourhood of railways and the large cities, affecting a very small proportion of the population, and work is difficult to find,

DAILY EXISTENCE, FOR THE AVERAGE WORKER, HAS BECOME HARDER AND HARDER.

From a report published by Sir Edward Buck, in 1874, we find that juwâr, the food most frequently consumed by the people, is now only half of the average of seventy-two years. The average for that period was thirty-one and 1·5th seers, ranging from sixty seers to fourteen, and now it is, almost permanently below twenty.

PRICES OF GRAIN, IN SEERS PER RUPEE.

Year.	Wheat.	Barley.	Juwâr.	Year.	Wheat.	Barley.	Juwâr.
1803	33	46	60	1837	22	30	35
1804	32	42	45	1838	10	12	15
1805	33	43	50	1839	24	37	51
1806	26	34	31	1840	21	21	41
1807	31	42	32	1841	20	20	35
1808	32	46	38	1842	19	25	33
1809	27	36	28	1843	25	41	36
1810	26	36	33	1844	23	31	28
1811	38	57	38	1845	23	32	20
1812	39	56	44	1846	25	33	33
1813	28	48	41	1847	26	35	31
1814	33	44	40	1848	32	50	40
1815	35	54	45	1849	35	40	45
1816	34	53	48	1850	31	40	43
1817	11	15	13	1851	32	55	50
1818	15	21	13	1852	33	50	35
1819	14	21	16	1853	25	35	26
1820	15	21	17	1854	18	20	25
1821	29	35	22	1855	28	44	28
1822	31	46	23	1856	25	30	40
1823	21	28	19	1857	21	27	28
1824	22	35	31	1858	26	29	28
1825	30	40	50	1859	20	27	22
1826	20	20	29	1860	17	19	17
1827	11	17	22	1861	12	18	19
1828	24	46	41	1862	24	33	25
1829	27	60	67	1863	24	35	25
1830	23	36	28	1864	18	20	14
1831	25	32	29	1865	14	18	21
1832	32	48	30	1866	14	17	21
1833	28	41	25	1867	15	18	23
1834	20	32	26	1868	15	22	18
1835	35	47	40	1869	15	19	15
1836	25	32	41	1870	15	19	14

These prices refer to the district of Furrakhabad; and it must be borne in mind that five Furrakhabad *seers* are equal to seven Calcutta *seers*.

In India, as in the columns of the *Anti-Jacobin*, the fault of the present disastrous condition of things is laid on the large exports of wheat, not altogether wisely, although, no doubt, the exports—under the circumstances—constitute a factor in the problem. On the 23rd of May last, Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, wrote as follows in the *Gazette* of his Provinces:—"The export of wheat from Lucknow, Cawnpore, and elsewhere still continues, resulting in the present high prices of food-grains. Should the rains fail this year, the result of these exports on the food stock of the provinces will be felt in its full force, and will lead probably to great calamity". Here, again, in the customary fashion in India, only a part of the truth is told. "Resulting in"—nay, one only, and by no means the most important, of the circumstances causing the present high prices of food-grains.

From the *Pioneer* we quote some correspondence on the subject. The Rev. Thomas Evans, of Mussoorie, who knows unusually well, and who has frequently travelled throughout, Northern India, says:—

"That there is a deep feeling of serious uneasiness prevailing more or less throughout the seething mass of the poorer people of India in these days, is a fact well known to all those who are familiar with the lower strata of native society through the country. *What is the cause?* There may be more than one reason for this state of affairs, but I think it is pretty evident that the *chief* cause is the *very high price* of the staple articles of the daily food of the people. The price of food grain has gone up of late years at a very rapid rate, while the miserable pittance of pay earned by the poorer classes has hardly moved and not moved at all in agricultural localities. What has caused the rise in the price of cereals? Simply this. The greatest portion of grain-producing districts in a great part of the country is in the hands of a few speculative and rich Greeks and Parsees, and Marwari merchants who buy up the grain wholesale while yet on the ground. These middlemen have their agents all over the land with ready money to tempt the zemindars to sell whole districts of grain to them. While there are agricultural districts wholly denuded of grain and many of the people half-starved we see all the railway stations filled up with huge piles of grain too abundant for the ordinary trains to carry it away to Calcutta, Bombay, or Karachi for export to Europe. Now, while no doubt it is a delicate and a difficult question for the Government to step in and interfere with what is called 'free trade,' yet when we see millions of poor people in India unable to purchase necessary bread-stuff for themselves and families, while a few rich middlemen snap

up the produce of the country wholesale, by which they amass princely fortunes, and are, they may say, the direct cause of the scarcity of food to the poor, who are driven by the terrible cravings of hunger to acts of desperation, and who may be driven to still further extremities by the sheer force of hunger, caused by the sweeping away of food as it were from their own hearth—when, I say, matters come to such a serious pass as this, one is strongly tempted to ask: Should not the Government step in and by some economic measure regulate the supply and demand of food for its own subjects in India? At present the middlemen reap nearly all the profit. True the farmers may get a little extra price, but that is not so much. It is the *wholesale* traffic that tempts them to part with their grain on the spot without any further cost or trouble, and it is this clean sweep of whole districts of produce that causes the scarcity and high price of bread to the poor. No doubt Government will find it difficult to interfere, but unless something is done to check the present wholesale export of grain from the country, not only will there be danger of starvation to millions of the poorer people, but there will also be the danger of much more serious *outbreaks* than we have lately seen in Benares; and to prevent either, or both, of these calamities the powers that be should take some measure to save the millions of India, not so much from the greed of the *bunias* as from the far more serious greed of those who hesitate not to denude the land of its *necessary* supply of food in order to fill their own pockets with gold."

Another correspondent writes:—

"Here surely is what the National Congress and all the would-be Members for India have long been seeking, a genuine national grievance for which English policy is directly responsible. For what grievance can be more genuine or more national than this, that the food supply of a country should be drained out of it at a time when prices in the country are so high that the poorer classes cannot get enough to eat, and when stocks are so low that the failure of a single harvest will 'lead probably to great calamity.' The effect of free-trade in India is, of course, exactly the opposite of its effect in England. There it made grain cheap at the cost of landowners and farmers for the benefit of the non-agricultural masses, has driven land out of cultivation, has reduced rents and swept the rural population either into the towns or across the seas. Here, in India, it has made food dear at the cost of the masses, especially the urban masses and agricultural labourers, for the benefit of such agriculturists as are not too deeply involved in the money-lender's meshes to reap the advantage of high prices. The immense export of wheat which is going on from Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi, in the teeth of the painfully high prices prevailing over nearly the whole of India, and of threatened famine in parts of Madras, is surely a singular phenomenon. However much we English may be blinded to it by a stereotyped belief in economical dogmas, and by the convenience to industrial England of cheap grain, we can hardly expect the untutored Indian to watch with equanimity the price of the food which even in normal times absorbs some four-fifths of his scanty income, going steadily up almost to famine rates, while every railway station is blocked with huge quantities of grain for export across the sea. If the situation could be reversed, and it was English grain that was being exported to India while high prices were pressing heavily on the proletariat at home, how long would the free-trading economists succeed in averting a crushing export duty? No native ruler would ever dream of allowing grain to leave his territory while his own people were suffering from scarcity. But the Government of India, of course, has not a free hand in the matter, and the Home Government would never in the present state of public opinion dream of allowing any interference with the sanctity of free-trade. The present state of public opinion, however, is not unmodifiable, and it is the business of every reformer to modify it in one direction or another, according as it is opposed to his own particular reform. If the friends of India who declaim about the grinding poverty of the Indian masses, with their single scanty meal a day, would but grasp the fact that a great part of this distress is due to unlimited exportation, and would set themselves to make the British public see the thing as it is, it is not inconceivable that the Government of India might in course of time be allowed to do what an independent Emperor of India certainly would do, viz., take a certain number of selected centres throughout the country, and whenever the average price of wheat at those centres exceeded a fixed rate, say a rupee for twenty seers, prohibit, or check by a heavy export duty, the outflow of food-grain over the seas. Perfect free-trade would, of course, be allowed within India itself, but as against other countries India would be allowed to exercise the right of self-preservation. Shippers of wheat would, of course, protest against any interference with their business, but after all export trade exists for the sake of the country which carries it on and not *vice versâ*. If to gain the good-will of the people of India be an object worth seeking, no possible policy would be more popular, even with the landed classes as a whole, than this; and even from an economical point of view it would be wiser to avert artificial famine, caused by depletion of grain stores, than quietly to watch their creation, and then spend millions in trying to keep the starving masses alive. If the orthodox political economy were inspired by commonsense this would surely be its A. B. C."

"A. B. C." ought to know that it is by members of the Indian National Congress almost entirely alone that for years past, the economic condition of India, of which export of food-stuffs and high prices are only a part, has been discussed. For discussing them they have been reprobated. As for the stoppage of exports the Government of India does not agree with Sir Auckland Colvin and the *Pioneer's* correspondents. Mr. O'Conor, of the Agricultural Department, has published a note discussing the apprehensions recently expressed in some quarters that the great increase in the export of wheat this year and the rise in prices would drain the country of the food required for the people, and would be likely to produce calamity if the exports were not prohibited. On a review of the whole case, the Government consider that the alarm is at least premature, as prices are no longer rising, nor are exports increasing; that even if the exports continued to increase there would be no real cause for apprehension, that if an emergency should arise by the failure of the monsoons, still a proposal to interfere with trade would be improper and useless, and that depletion of the food supply should be remedied by importation.

The causes of India's most poignant distress are many and far reaching. India does not receive justice at the hands of Britain. We need not state our views on this point. Rather, we prefer to put the facts as they are portrayed in the columns of the *Anti-Jacobin*:

"According to your cut-and-dry political economists, the matter should be all-right. India is more capable of producing corn, England of producing manufactures; therefore it is to the advantage of both countries to exchange corn for manufactures. But, in the first place, India does not appear to give up the food willingly. It is drawn away from her by the superior power of suction which, under a Free Trade *régime*, a richer country possesses over a poorer one. A price of corn which is cheap in England may be almost a starvation price in India, where a labourer is happy if he can obtain fourpence for his daily wage. The English consumer being able to pay more for his food can, in the course of the ordinary struggle for existence, draw away food from the native of India. In the second place a great deal of the corn which comes from India must be taken as coming, not in exchange for English goods, but in payment of annual interest on the debt owing by India to England in respect of capital at various times lent to the Indian Government by Englishmen. Every year the Indian Government has to transmit to London an enormous sum in respect partly of pensions, etc., but chiefly in payment of dividends upon capital invested in public loans and State railways. This year the total remittances amounted to sixteen millions sterling. To provide this sum the Indian Government has to raise a larger land revenue than otherwise it would do. To pay the revenue the peasant must sell his corn. English importers of corn buy the Indian Government bills in London, send them to India to be cashed, and so pay for the corn. In this way, roughly speaking, the annual sixteen millions are remitted to England in the shape (in part at least) of cheap corn. In other words, an annual corn-tribute is paid by India to England. . . . .

"Last census showed a total growth of thirty millions in India during a single decade. The question how all these millions are to be fed while a richer nation is drawing part of their food away is likely to become a serious one.

"No one can wish to under-rate the benefits which our honest, strong, and just Government has conferred upon the natives of India. But it must be remembered, in balancing the account, that while India pays its own expenses, supports part of our army and costs us nothing, we, on the other hand, derive great wealth from our possession of India. Supposing that a rival Power drove us out of India, stopped payment of all pensions, interest, and dividends from India to England, and entirely closed the ports of India against us, we should be half-ruined. The ruin would be fairly complete if some great borrowing nation were at the same time to say, 'We have paid interest on loans long enough.' Our national wealth has come to depend too much on money-lending to foreigners.

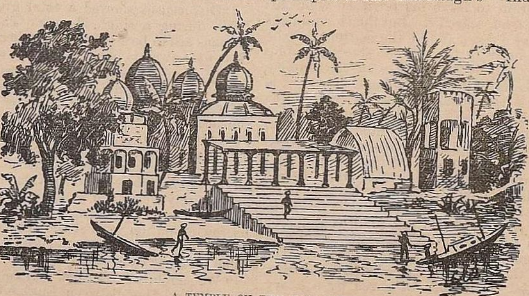
"We should not overlook real Indian grievances, nor assume that the relation between England and India benefits India only. At any rate we might treat India with more generosity in some financial matters. For instance, we might refrain from our occasional (somewhat hypocritical) attempts to prevent, under the name of free-trade, or shortening hours of labour, the growth of Indian industries which may compete with Lancashire. The English taxpayer contributes nothing to the cost of the Indian army or the cost of strengthening the Indian frontier; yet would he be a heavy pecuniary loser if we lost India. We might, at least pay for the India Office in London as we do for the Colonial Office, and not load that valuable institution upon the back of the Indian taxpayer. Finally, with all deference to the Cobden Club, we may have to consider some day whether the unlimited export of corn from India to England is all that can be desired."

MR. SCHWANN'S IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA.*

In a closely-printed pamphlet of thirty-two pages, containing as much reading matter as many volumes of a hundred pages, Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., has published his jottings of a three months' visit which he and Mrs. Schwann made to India last year. Readers of the *Star* newspaper will be familiar with much that appears in these pages, the substance of the *brochure* having been published in that paper in the shape of letters contributed from time to time. A number of illustrations, from Mr. Schwann's facile pencil, as well as much additional matter, make the publication very useful and timely. A few passages from the text and one or two of the "blocks" which Mr. Schwann's publishers have kindly placed at our service will best describe the character of Mr. Schwann's "impressions" and the nature of the little publication itself:—

Our visit to Calcutta was fortunately timed so that we were able to be present at the sixth Indian National Congress, which was opened on Friday, December 26th, under very favourable auspices. The scene of this annual gathering was the Tivoli Gardens, where a spacious tent had been erected, gaily decorated with flags of every shape and colour. It was approached by a wide covered way, also decorated in like manner. The tent was clothed in draperies of red, white, and green cloth, and presented a very bright and gay appearance. The total number of delegates attending the Congress was about 1,400, and the seats reserved for visitors were fully occupied. The delegates and visitors together numbered some four or five thousand, and were dressed in all the different costumes of the districts from which they came, or of their different castes. The variety of turbans was infinite, and many of the full costumes were very brilliant in colour and some costly in texture. At least twenty to twenty-five lady delegates were present, and one of them proposed the health of the chairman or president before the Congress broke up. This was considered an advance on former years, and its advisability was much mooted and discussed, and deferred, indeed, for a day, out of fear of shocking the more Conservative Hindu section. One event which added piquancy to the meeting was that tickets for the Visitors' Gallery had been forwarded to the new Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Charles Elliott), at Lady Elliott's request, it was rumoured. These tickets were returned with a letter explaining "that Sir C. Elliott was unable to avail himself of them, all Government officials and *their households* being absolutely prohibited from attending any meetings of the Congress." This referred to an official announcement in the local papers which had appeared on the opening day of the Congress, warning Government officials against taking part in its proceedings, but no one imagined that this was to apply to the visitors' galleries. This letter caused much derisive laughter, and was the occasion of a resolution, moved later on by Mr. Manomohun Ghose, the chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. George Yule, a former president of the Congress, a very shrewd, wealthy, and highly-respected Englishman, who lives, during summer, in London, and during the "cold season" at Calcutta. Mr. Ghose held it to be a great sign of weakness on the part of the Government to attempt to boycott the Congress, and Mr. Yule was supported by vociferous cheers when he described it as a gross insult "to men equally as worthy and as desirous of the good of their country as any official."

CONGRESS DELEGATES.



A TEMPLE ON THE HOOGHLY.

It was decided to ask the Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, for an explanation as to the authenticity of the official, or apparently official, announcement in the newspapers, and the reasons of the Government for issuing it, if authentic, as Mr. Yule suggested the prohibition might only be the idea of some Dogberry "clothed in a little brief authority." It does seem pitiful if the great Indian Government is afraid of a perfectly constitutional assembly, and tries to keep away its officials for fear they may be converted. The official world thinks it can exist only by playing off one race against the other—Muhammadan against Hindu. That is a very pretty game, no doubt, when a nation is in its infancy, but not when it is old and intelligent enough to see through the very obvious little stratagem.

In India we should do better by frankly taking the educated native portion of the community into partnership with us in the government of the country, instead of treating them with suspicion and contempt. Of course, county families, who look upon India as the happy hunting-grounds of their younger sons and relatives, do not see things in this light, and officials and professional men in India are, as a class, very naturally against sharing the "loaves and fishes" with the clever Bengalis and other children of the soil. That was at the bottom of the opposition to Lord Ripon and to the Ilbert Bill; and, as a matter of fact, the Congress was established owing to the resentment caused in the native mind by the self-interested, pocket opposition to that measure.

The address of welcome was very conciliatory, and reflected the good judgment, great ability, and sterling qualities of Mr. Manomohun Ghose, who delivered it. He is the elder brother of Mr. Lalmohun Ghose (once candidate for Deptford, whose eloquence—almost rivalling John Bright's—has delighted so many English audiences), and he is one of the leading ornaments of the Calcutta Bar. I will not recapitulate his arguments, nor those of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, the president of the Congress, in his address. Suffice it to say that they were moderate and conciliatory, though unhesitating in upholding the right of the Congress to exist and offer its advice in the absence of adequate representation of native opinion on the Viceregal Council. The native gentlemen who sit on that Council, it is thought, owe their nomination more to their merits as courtiers, in many cases, than to a knowledge of the wants of their fellow-countrymen, or to independence of character.

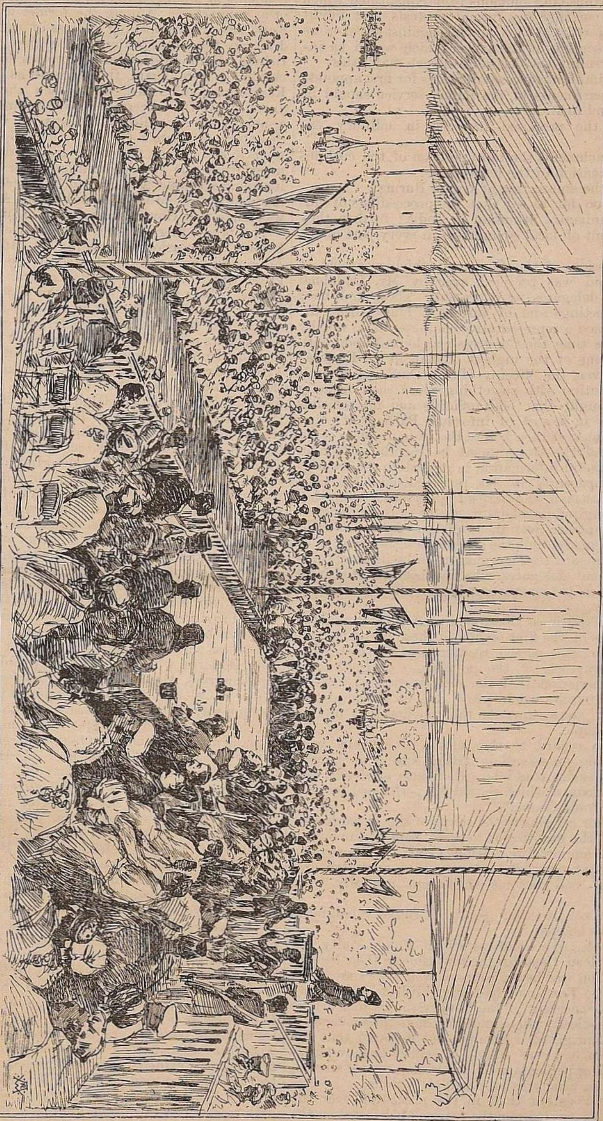
The speaking at the Congress was on the whole very good, if not quite up to the mark as compared with our grandest Liberal Federation meetings, when Gladstone, Harcourt, Morley, etc., are present; but it is to be remembered that almost all the speakers employed English, which is not their native tongue, and that some of the greatest and most popular orators were incapacitated by ill-health, viz., Mr. S. Banerjee and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. The demands of the Congress were pretty moderate, and practically amounted to support of the principles of Mr. Bradlaugh's "Indian Councils Bill," which provides that at least one-third, and not more than one-half, of the Viceregal Council (increased to sixty members) shall be elected by the people. The mode of election is left to the decision of the Supreme Government, but no doubt if it does not meet with approval it will meet with free criticism. Many resolutions on the inequalities in the incidence of taxation of land, and on the alleged iniquity of the salt tax, etc., were passed; but perhaps the one most pregnant with results was the determination to hold a Congress in May, 1892, in London, the Congress to consist of not less than one hundred delegates. This is a capital move, as it will bring the demands of our Indian fellow-subjects directly under the notice of the English people. It is a wise, and I trust will prove a successful, innovation.

* John Heywood, Deansgate and Ridgefield, Manchester; 1, Paternoster Buildings, London.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in 1885, said:—"There ought to be, and I think there must be, a real and comprehensive Parliamentary inquiry into the whole operation of the Government of India. That is a matter which has been too long postponed. The Government of India is a despotic Government, and like all despotic Government, it must inevitably contract to itself political diseases and political defects, which only the investigation of a popular Chamber can cure or mitigate. The Government of India has never been a party question, and it is a matter in which both parties can combine. All I can say is this, that a Parliamentary inquiry into the operation of the Act which gave over to the Crown the Government of India is an effectual and effective part of the Policy now so absolutely essential to strengthening the British hold upon India."

YOUNG INDIA.

UNDER the title of "Young India" the proprietors of the *Pall Mall Gazette* have issued as their "Extra," No. 57, Mr. W. S. Caine's admirable series of letters written from India last year and this. The *Pall Mall* people have produced many "Extras," but not one has proceeded from their press more elegantly printed or more attractively set forth than No. 57. A beautiful toned paper, wide margins, good type, most attractive illustrations — sixty-four in number— Mr. Caine's most practical and highly-useful tour in the cold weather of 1890-91 has been worthily placed on permanent record. The sale in India alone ought to put the publication—so far as the publishers are concerned—on an amply remunerative footing. Mr. Caine, in the Preface, declares that the main object he has had in view in writing the letters has been to try to interest the political public in Britain in our great dependency of India and to induce those who have time and means at their disposal to devote some of their leisure or holiday time to spend a winter there. "It will," he says, "be found on perusal that the greater portion of these letters are taken up in describing or discussing the incidents connected with the Indian National Congress, now the recognised mouthpiece of the political aspirations of Educated India, in which may be included the remarkable development of the Temperance Reformation, which has been so conspicuous a feature of the Congress movement." An excellent likeness of Mr. R. W. Allan, the artist who accompanied Mr. Caine on his travels, is given near the preface: the excellence of Mr. Allan's work can be judged by the admirable picture which, through the courtesy of the proprietors of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, we are able to give above. Mr. Caine's letters and their topics are well-known. Not so well-known, however, are the particulars contained in an additional chapter entitled "The Congress Movement." In that chapter Mr. Caine says :—



INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AT CALCUTTA.

The Congress movement is the first organised effort known to India and to the Indian people in which the whole population may be said to have combined to make an appeal to England, or, indeed, for any purpose. On many occasions meetings held in the various Presidency cities have addressed the British people, as for example in the 60's, when Madras petitioned Parliament for reformed councils, and towards the end of the 70's, when a great meeting was held in Bombay, the chief object of which was to obtain reformed councils with an elective element. 1885, however, was the year in which, as I have said, the first combined effort for political reform was made. In March of that year a meeting of representative men was held, at which it was decided that at the following Christmas a conference composed of delegates from all parts of the Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Presidencies should be held at Poona. Partly as a result of the proposed conference, and in view of the General Election being held in England in that year, three delegates, one from each of the Presidencies, were sent to this country to plead the cause of India before the constituencies. The great attention which their efforts attracted reacted upon the people of India, and as a consequence at the time appointed about one hundred gentlemen from all parts of India assembled to discuss Indian grievances, and to suggest what should be done to remedy those grievances. Owing to cholera breaking out at Poona the meeting was held at Bombay, that city being then, to a much greater extent than it is at present, the chief political centre of India. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, of Calcutta, was elected President, and in the course of his opening address he briefly set forth the objects of the Congress under the following heads:

(*a*) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire.

(*b*) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in Lord Ripon's ever-memorable reign.

(*c*) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

(*d*) The determination of the lines upon the methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for Indian politicians to labour in the public interests.

The Congress sat for three days, and in the course of its proceedings passed Resolutions which

(1) Begged that a Royal Commission of inquiry into the working of Indian Administration, both in India and in England, might be appointed;

(2) Urged the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;

(3) Pointed out the need for the reform and expansion of the Supreme and Legislative Councils, such reform to give members the right to ask questions; and for a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to be constituted which should receive and consider any formal protests that might be recorded by majorities of such councils against the exercise by the Indian Executive of the power which would be invested in it of overruling the decisions of such majorities;

(4) Urged that simultaneous examinations for first appointments in civil departments of the public service should be held in England and in India;

(5) Condemned the proposed increase in military expenditure.

(6) Urged retrenchment, the re-imposition of the customs duties, and the extension of the license tax;

and (7) Deprecated the annexation of Upper Burma.

It is not going too far to say that the proceedings of this Congress attracted universal attention in India; further, they led to the appointment of local committees in every part of the Empire.

At the second session of the Congress, which was held at Calcutta in 1886, and was presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, nearly 500 delegates were present. These had been elected at public meetings and by various public bodies; the gathering thus assumed a representative character. It is worthy of note that at this time the Congress was looked upon with great approval by some of the highest officials in the Empire; rumour says that even the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) himself regarded the organisation with something more than friendly regard. It was thought that both officials and non-officials could meet together in a sort of informal Parliament, that matters of greatest interest then before the Indian public could be threshed out, and the Government be thereby placed in possession of much useful information in regard to the feelings of the people. Apparently it was not realised—by Lord Dufferin at least—that men who have an opportunity to display capacity for discussing public affairs would be content long to remain without any power over those affairs. Lord Dufferin, who was in Calcutta at the time the second Congress was held, showed his friendly regard to the organisation by inviting some of the more prominent delegates, who had been selected from all parts of the Empire, to Government House, where he showed them much cordiality.

The programme of business done at that Congress differed from the proceedings of the first session in these particulars:—

(1) A resolution was passed recognising the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and expressing the conviction that the introduction of REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS would prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

(2) Its views in regard to the reform of councils were amplified by placing on record an outline scheme of the way in which constituencies could be called into existence, and the business was defined which should be performed by such enlarged and reformed Councils.

(3) Several minor reforms in the shape of the extension of trial by jury, and the granting to accused persons the option of demanding a committal to Sessions Court, with a request to Government that complete separation of executive and judicial functions had become an urgent necessity were urged;

and (4) A system of volunteering open to all Indian inhabitants of the country was begged.

A proof that the idea of a Congress which should unify the Indian peoples and lead them for the first time in their history to combine as a nation was being realised, was to be found in a leading article of the *Times* newspaper, published on the day appointed for the assembling of the Congress. In that article the *Times* characteristically pronounced against the movement, poured upon it unmitigated contempt, and declared that the object its promoters had was simply a selfish one, and that after all only a trifling percentage of the Indian people were in any way interested in what was proposed to be done.

To a much greater extent than in the preceding year the Congress, during the twelve months intervening between the second and third sessions, took hold upon the nation at large, though a cleavage in the reform ranks became apparent in the opposition which some Muhammadans began to express to the movement. It was evidently felt by them that in any scheme of representation, Muhammadans being in a minority of one to four compared with their Hindu fellow-subjects, their interests might be supposed to suffer. The Congress, in the draft scheme propounded in Calcutta, proposed to guard against this by a careful arrangement in which the rights of minorities would be respected. Under the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, of Aligarh, in the North-Western Provinces, the Muhammadans refused to see any merit in this scheme, and arrayed themselves in stout opposition to the Congress.

Madras was selected as the place of meeting in December, 1887. In view of the Muhammadan opposition it was felt desirable, if possible, that a gentleman of the Moslem faith should be President. In the person of Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee, a leading barrister of Bombay, a most excellent President was found. His speech, in opening the proceedings, was characterised by sound judgment and comprehensiveness. He bore testimony to the loyal objects of the Congress, and indicated the many ways in which, if the objects desired could be carried out, the Government and the country would greatly benefit. All the leading Hindus and many of the chief Muhammadan residents in Madras attended the Congress either as delegates or as supporters. Among the former was Raja Sir T. Madava Row, who, in his opening address of welcome to the Congress, declared the organisation to be the "soundest triumph of British administration, and a crown of glory to the British nation." Here, again, the proceedings lasted three days. The Resolutions submitted were much the same as in previous years, with the exception that nothing was said about the appointment of a Royal Commission, or the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council. The Government were called upon to elaborate a system of technical education; and it was urged that the taxable minimum for incomes rated to the income tax should be raised to Rs. 1,000. Complaint also was made as to the hardship caused by the Arms Act, and a request was made that Government should modify its provisions.

The proceedings at the Madras meetings were destined to become the occasion of creating no little commotion in India. Following the practice adopted at the first meeting, the Congress, under the hand of its General Secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., published a verbatim report of its proceedings. Bound up with the Madras report were copies of two pamphlets which had been printed and largely circulated in the various vernaculars of India. One was entitled "A Catechism respecting the Indian National Congress," and was written by Mr. Viraraghava Chariar, B.A., of Madras; the other was "A Conversation between Moulvi Farid Ud Din, M.A., B.L., Vakil (Barrister) of the High Court, practising in the Zillah Court of Hakikatabad, and Rambaksh, one of the Mukaddams (chief villager) of Kambakhpur," anonymously published, but its authorship was an open secret, Mr. Hume being the writer. These pamphlets contained a description of what the Congress might hope to achieve, and the benefits which would result from the adoption and carrying out of its programme. They were the first political pamphlets, appealing to the reason and intelligence of the people, published in India, and in that despotically-ruled land fair criticism and reasonable hopefulness are looked upon as seditious writing. There was a great outcry in certain of the Anglo-Indian papers against these publications. The second pamphlet led to a correspondence between Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and Mr. Hume. Considerable attention was attracted both in England and in India to this correspondence, and it was chiefly owing to the ferment arising therefrom that Lord Dufferin, who had grown very cold in his feelings towards the Congress, was led to make a speech at the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta on November 30, 1888, in which he spoke in a vague way of the "pretensions of the microscopic minority which composed the Congress," and hinted that this "microscopic minority" wished to take the reins of government out of the hands of the authorities. At the same time he paid a warm compliment to the ability and fitness of many of the Indian people to assist in the government of the Empire. While this speech was the subject of intense and even angry comment in all parts of India, particulars were telegraphed from England of a speech made by the Prime Minister (Lord Salisbury) in London, referring to the President of the Calcutta Congress, who had been a Liberal candidate for a London division, as a "black man." I was in India at the time, and found it was universally discredited that Lord Salisbury could possibly have spoken so unadvisedly with his lips; the truth of the statement was doubted until the mail brought the text of Lord Salisbury's speech, when it was found that the telegraphic announcement was correct. The indignation of the Indian people was widespread and profound.

Meantime, early in the year (1888) the report of the Madras session had been reprinted in England, and circulated largely to the newspapers, to politicians of all parties, and to men of influence in various grades of society. Ten thousand copies were thus distributed; over one hundred daily and weekly newspapers devoted large attention to the questions discussed by the Congress, and published leading articles on the movement. Characteristically enough, the Liberal newspapers, with scarcely an exception, approved the movement, while the Conservative papers hinted dislike, and sometimes roundly abused it. In various ways the question of Indian reform was brought before the attention of the British people, notably by meetings attended by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, of Calcutta, and Mr. Eardley Norton, of Madras, both leading Indian barristers, then in England. During this year also the services of the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., as Parliamentary representative of the Congress and of Indian grievances generally, were secured.

The result of the commotion thus caused, both in England and in India, was seen at Allahabad, where the fourth Congress

met, at which I was present throughout. It had been thought that the strong opposition expressed by the Viceroy and Sir Auckland Colvin, with the general current of official opinion running in the same direction, would have the effect of leading many Indian gentlemen to decline to take part in the proceedings. So far from this being the case the session at Allahabad was a most striking success. Fourteen hundred delegates attended. A non-official European resident in Calcutta, Mr. George Yule, merchant, who had been President of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and Sheriff of the city, presided. His address was a masterly and unanswerable statement of the need which existed in India for enlarging the Councils, and giving them increased powers, and of the fitness of the educated people generally for taking a share in the work of legislation. I was deeply impressed by the Congress itself; it was marked by much earnestness, by speeches that would have done credit to any representative assembly in any part of the world, and by sobriety of demeanour and argument which to my mind augured well for the use to which a quasi-representative institution would be put when granted. The Resolutions passed during the four days' sittings reaffirmed the chief resolutions of previous sessions, condemned the report of the Public Service Commission in that simultaneous examinations in India and in England were not provided for, urged reform in the existing police administration, condemned the systems of Abkari and Excise then prevailing, again urged technical education upon the authorities, and recognised the action of friends in England who had endeavoured to secure the total abrogation of the rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India. Reuter's telegraphic agency sent long messages each day of the sitting to England, setting forth in an impartial manner what had been done. Very great interest was manifested in England. A descriptive letter which I sent home from Allahabad was published in over forty leading journals. A clear advance was made both in England and in India; the great work which Mr. Bradlaugh had done in Parliament for India added to the interest which was excited in this country in Indian reforms and grievances generally.

The session of the Congress held in Bombay, in December, 1889, marked the high water point to which it is probable this organisation will ever rise. Owing to a variety of causes, notably the fact that Sir William Wedderburn, an ex-Bombay official, was to be the president, and that Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., would be a visitor, between 2,000 and 3,000 delegates were elected, and 1,899 actually attended. The proceedings during the sittings on December 26, 27, 28 were, if anything, of a higher and more statesmanlike character than those in preceding sessions; that is to say, a sense of the gravity of the position they were occupying, both with regard to their own countrymen in India and the ruling race in England, appeared to possess the speakers. Towards the end of the proceedings the utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and a speech which Mr. Bradlaugh made to the delegates aroused political patriotic feeling to a degree never before known in India. The resolution passed during these meetings differed in no respect from those of preceding sessions, save that it was decided a scheme of representation should be framed and sent to Mr. Bradlaugh, who was requested to turn the scheme into a Bill, which he was asked to introduce into the House of Commons. Mr. Bradlaugh acted upon the wishes expressed to him, and it is a matter of common knowledge that he introduced the scheme agreed upon by the Congress into Parliament, but was not able, owing to the pressure of Government business, to obtain a date for the second reading of his Bill. The scheme was based upon electoral colleges, members of which were to elect representatives of the Provincial Councils, who, in their turn, were to elect the members of the Supreme Council. While the introduction of the elective principle into the Bill was widely approved and accepted, the scheme itself was not generally well received either in England or in India, this partly arising from the fact that a new principle or method was proposed to be introduced into British controlled elections for parliamentary or quasi-parliamentary institutions. The Bill, however, served a very useful purpose, illustrating alike to friends and foes the full extent of Congress legislative demands.

During the year several Indian delegates, nominated by the Congress, visited England, addressed a number of largely attended meetings in the chief provincial towns of the United Kingdom, attended a number of smaller meetings, and generally were successful in arousing increased attention and interest on the part of the people of this country.

It had been recognised, splendid as was the success at Bombay, shown by the attendance of nearly 2,000 delegates, that such a body was too large for deliberative purposes; it was therefore agreed upon that in future only 1,000 delegates should be elected, but at the same time arrangements should be made whereby visitors from a distance, and others wishing to share in the advantages arising from attendance at the Congress, could be present.

As for the Congress of 1890, held at Calcutta, nothing need be said here, my letters dealing fully with that. The Congress of 1891 is to be held at Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces. That of 1892 is to be held in London, when the picked men of educated India will give a practical illustration to English politicians of their fitness and the fitness of their countrymen as a whole, for the possession of representative institutions.

AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.

Had not a severe attack of illness prevented his presence in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget night the hon. member for North Manchester (Mr. C. E. Schwann) would have addressed the House in the following terms:

Although it has now become almost a trite remark in the forefront of every speaker's observations, I cannot but reiterate the serious complaints which have been made, inside and outside the House, as to the late period of the Session at which the discussion of the Indian Budget has been brought on. It is considered a deliberate insult by the people of India that the consideration of the interests of that vast, populous, important portion of the British Empire, should be placed behind any and every little local bill or every trumpery measure which affects some tiny section of our home population. Now, I happen to know that various members of the House of Commons, who have never heard the Indian Budget and general Indian affairs discussed, stayed up in town some days with the object of being present at this debate, and they have only at last and owing to the many delays which have taken place been reluctantly compelled, by peremptory necessity, to go down to the country. Those members were anxious to inform themselves as to Indian questions, and I regret that the Government has not thought fit to signalise itself by introducing the Indian Budget at an earlier date than this—the very day before the final winding-up of the Session. It furnishes one more argument, however, to those pioneers of political progress in India to address themselves to the achievement for the Indian people of the right to further and direct representation in the Viceregal Council. There is a polite fiction, I believe, that the House of Commons is responsible for the good government of our fellow subjects in India, and to some extent that may be true, but it is so to a very infinitesimal extent. It is clear that we have little control over the expenditure of India, and, therefore, it is natural that the Indian people should seek for a direct representation of their wants and wishes in the Supreme Indian Councils, so that they may advocate, at least, such measures as they think would be to their advantage, and deprecate any action which they hold would be injurious to their interests. For my part I should be glad to see the petition of the Indian National Congress, for direct representation of their people in the Viceregal and other Councils, granted. I believe it would do much to consolidate our hold on India in the interests of the Indian people, but also in our own and of civilisation, and progress in general. Personally, I believe that the Indian people are loyal to the British Government. They may regret that they cannot stand alone—that is but natural, but they fully understand the position and would not wish to exchange our rule for that of Russia, nor for that of their former native rulers, though same of the native potentates, who still exercise rule, seem sincerely anxious to rule for the benefit of their people. Fortunately, India has now found a voice in the Indian National Congress, which is able to speak with some authority as representing a large portion of the more educated and enlightened and responsible portion of the various Indian communities. For nearly all races are represented in the National Congress—Hindus (of every race and caste), Mahammadans, Parsees, etc., etc., and they travel for many thousands of miles, throwing caste rules, to a great extent, aside, in order to be present. Of course detractors say this is the work of unscrupulous agitators, but men do not travel from one end of India to another at the instigation of agitators unless they feel deep sympathy with the cause which the agitator advocates. But the Government of India is sincerely anxious to learn the bent of national opinion in India and is not adverse to the Congress. Mr. Charles Elliott in January of this year, on receiving a deputation of Indian gentlemen, said "he wished to correct the mistaken impression that the Government was hostile to the Congress. The Government has no bias for or against the Congress. They considered it a movement which private persons were perfectly free to follow and encourage." That is a perfectly clear and frank position for the Government of India to take up, and it has on various occasions adopted reforms pointed out by the Indian Congress. It seems, therefore, a great error for the India Office here and the Government of Lord Salisbury to have withdrawn the Indian Councils Bill ostensibly because some of us wished to discuss the more direct representation of the Indian people in the Viceregal Council, etc. It is possible, and is no doubt true, that there is an inner hidden life of the Hindu which does not appear on the surface—mysterious waves of opinion which stir the hearts of millions—but to a large extent to-day the problems of social life in India are similar to those we have to contend with here—forms of land tenure, conditions of factory labour, struggles betwixt capital and labour—in fact, social and industrial questions. Education is becoming general in India and is advancing rapidly, and the Indian people have studied and are studying in the same schools of political thought and political economy as ourselves, and we cannot refuse to give them the crown of the education we have encouraged them to seek, viz., representation for which various Lieutenant-Governors and Governor-Generals of India have, it is well-known, declared them fitted, especially as they ask it in a very limited form and degree. Sir

John Gorst said in a debate on the adjournment of the House on the 16th April last that India was governed arbitrarily by "the strongest despotism." I submit that this ought no longer to be the case. Now, what are some of the "very revolutionary" proposals of the Congress. 1. That not less than one-third and not more than one-half of members of an increased Viceregal Council shall be elected by the Indian people. The mode of election to be left to the decision of the Viceroy. Such election might be indirect say through electoral colleges; but as I say that is left in the hands of the Viceregal Council to suggest. 2. Separation of executive and judicial functions of magistrates. 3. Reduction of Salt Duty from 2½ Rupees per maund to 2 Rupees, and raising of minimum of income upon which Income Tax is leviable from 500 Rupees annual income to 1,000 Rupees annual income. As to the first proposal I have given various reasons why it should be admitted. As to the second proposal, I hold in my hand a printed paper, containing ten different instances of flagrant cases of injustice caused by the administration of the executive and judicial functions by one and the same individual. Many of us know from the discussion of current events in Ireland how much injustice such a system leads to. It is a vicious system, and should be abolished in India wherever practicable. As to the third point, the diminution necessary in the Salt Tax, it is obvious from the figures supplied by the right hon. gentleman, in the printed statement he kindly sent to each member of this House, that taxation is increasing annually, if we take taxation and payment of land revenue in British India together, thus, in

	Account, 1889-90.			Revised Estimate, 1890-91.			Budget Estimate 1891-92.		
	Rupees.	annas.	pies.	Rupees.	annas.	pies.	Rupees.	annas.	pies.
Taxation	1	1	5	1	1	11	1	1	11
Land Revenue	1	1	5	1	1	4	1	1	8
	2	2	10	2	3	3	2	3	7

That seems a distinct rise of taxation in three years. I suppose it is to meet increased military expenditure, as Home charges for military expenditure stand thus:

	Account, 1889-90. 1889-90.	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.	Budget, 1891-2.
Amount in	Rx. 723,876.	Rx. 1,515,300.	Rx. 1,863,400.

I believe that these are questions in which the Indian people who pay the bill ought to have a say. I think, too, that the charge for the Secretary and Under Secretary for India's salaries should be borne by England and appear in the Estimates, so as to bring the conduct of Indian affairs under the fuller observation of Parliament. Much could be done by fostering technical education in India by way of improving native manufactures (increasing the Income Tax and other revenue), thereby finding an outlet for the energies of the Indian youth—to-day too much inclined to concentrate his attention on law, medicine, and the public service exclusively. But there are some other questions in which the presence of elected Indian members (in which I include of course Mussulmans) in the Viceregal Council, would doubtless exercise a beneficient influence. I mean such questions as relate to the financial and economical position of India *vis-a-vis* of this country, and also the question as to whether India is becoming poorer as is alleged than it was formerly, and famines of more frequent occurrence and more fatal when they do occur, and in the affirmative case the suggestion of the proper steps to be taken to alleviate poverty and encourage the productiveness of the soil and the progress of manufactures. It has been proposed that a special commission should be sent out to inquire into this group of questions, and probably, pending the granting of some form of direct representation in the Viceregal Council, it might be well for such a commission to be appointed of a non-partizan character as all party considerations should be eliminated as much as possible from the consideration of Indian subjects. If all be found as it should be—if the burden of taxation on the poor be not more than they can fairly bear—if salaries of officials in India be only commensurate with their work, the risks and sacrifices they have to endure, if the amount of pensions remitted home cannot be diminished, etc., then we must recognize the inevitable, but if it be proved that the contrary is the case, then let us have a change and lighten the load of the poor cultivators of the soil, millions of whom it has been said, "never know what it is to satisfy their hunger." Another class of subjects upon which Indian representatives would probably feel and advocate the rights, explain the sufferings of their fellows, such as that of "inland migration" or coolie migration, especially to Assam. I should like to ask the Under Secretary how that matter stands now? This question has been for long a chronic cause of discontent and I fear of hardship. As the House probably knows, the coolies who work in the Assam tea plantations are divided into two classes, viz., *Act* labourers (under an Act of 1882) and *non*-Act labourers (who are either free labourers or short term contract labourers under an early Act of 1859). Now it is complained, and I am told with reason, that the labourers under the Act of 1882, who engage for a five years' term, are subject to a much harder fate than the free, short-time coolies—that the former are sent to unhealthy plantations (at which free labourers *would not stay*) and that accordingly their death-rate is much higher than that of free labourers (*i.e.*, *non*-Act labourers), and of course immensely higher than that of the other inhabitants of the province of Assam. In 1886: death-rate of province, 27·7; of tea gardens, 39·8 per mille. 1887: death-rate of province, 24·5; of tea gardens, 36·2 per mille. But the figures are really much worse, because the Government, I am informed, took its figures as to the death-rate in tea gardens not, as would be fair and natural by putting the figures of the death-rates of the two classes of coolies (*i.e.*, *Act* coolies and *non*-Act coolies) *separately*, but by adding the two together and taking the mean for their statistics. We might as well take the mean betwixt the death rate of the Assam coolies and Lancashire operatives, as they average betwixt *Act* and *non*-Act coolies, to form an accurate calculation. Why in 1885 the death-rate of *non*-Act coolies per mille was 26·5; *Act* coolies, 57·5. 1886: *non*-Act coolies, 29·5; *Act* coolies, 58·9. 1887: *non*-Act coolies, 25·8; *Act* coolies, 57·2. Now, I say (if these figures be true as to death-rate of *Act* coolies) that an Act which is responsible for death-rates of 51·5, 58·9, and 57·2 per mille in successive years, require something more than revision, it requires radically altering. The Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1887, says himself (in the Report on Labour Immigration into Assam), "As usual the mortality amongst Act labourers was largely in excess of that amongst *non*-Act labourers, and that Act is used to bind coolies down to plantations too unhealthy to attract free labourers." But now let us look at individual plantations. The death-rate in the year 1886 was: Amrailcherra (Sylhet), 270·0 per mille; Sakomatha (Darrang), 241·7; Kolite (Sylhet), 241·0; Rangajan (Sibsagar), 228·5; Chota Tengrai (Lokimpar), 220·4; Bhipuria (Lokimpar), 219·3. Other gardens have death-rates down to those first quoted, which shows that leaving out of calculation deserters (many of whom perish in the jungle) in a large number of gardens a ratio of *one man in four* obtains down to a death-rate, which, at its lowest amounts literally to a tenth only. But the climax was reached in 1884, when in the tea gardens of Kumar and Luchi (Kamruss) and Mainafhar (Cachar), the mortality was 594·0 and 552·3 respectively. This cruel death-rate, most horrible as it appears, brought on by unhealthy plantations, poor food and probably heavy work. There is a form of inspection to regulate work on plantations, but Sec. 115 of the Act of 1882, empowers the planter to "alter the schedule of work from time to time," and as the inspector is said to visit an estate sometimes only once a year, there is plenty of time for the planter "to alter his schedule" as soon as the inspector's back is turned. There are other points I should like to dwell upon, such as the diminution of births amongst the coolie population since the passing of the Act I. of 1882, which in 1882 was 39·1 per mille, but fell in 1887 to 28·2 per mille; the extraordinary powers of summary arrest, in cases of escape, possessed by the planters, &c., &c., the ignorance of the coolie as to the nature of the contract he signs. With reference to this last point Mr. Porteous says in his Report for 1883, "There is not the smallest security that the coolie, when he is brought up to go through the form of touching the pen, in company with some dozens of others at the garden, understands in the least what he is signing. There is no provision that his agreement should be first explained to him, nor is it very likely that any objection he might make would be listened to. He is expected to sign with the rest." I don't know which is most wrong in principle Act XIII. of 1859 or Act I. of 1882, the evidence of those who ought to know being so conflicting, for as to Act XIII. of 1859, Sir Charles Elliott said in the Report for 1883 "that it was open to the gravest objection!" He said, "A contract may be enforced under this Act, though it is not stamped, though it is not registered, though it has not been presented for verification before any official, though there is no proof (other than what other evidence is produced on the trial) that the labourer understood the terms of the engagement, though the terms may be manifestly unfair. A labourer cannot free himself by redemption, nor can he plead any misconduct of his employer as an excuse for non-performance." But Mr. Ward, Chief Commissioner of Assam, in the Report of 1886, supports Act XIII. of 1859, because under Act I. of 1882, "*The coolie is practically a slave for the whole period of his contract.*" Such are these two Acts, to which the planters, it is said, have the option of recourse to either, as they find most convenient. The defence of each Act is that it is, in the estimation of its supporters, only less oppressive than the other. Of course information may have reached the India Office which modifies the very gloomy picture of the position of the coolie given in these extracts. I shall be very glad if this be the case. There are many other questions upon which I should like to have made some observations had time permitted. Perhaps the one of most pressing and urgent importance is that of probable famine in the Madras and other districts. What has been done to relieve the distress, which must have taken place owing to want of rain in the Arcot and Chingleput districts? Letters which I have received from Madras put the want and destitution in a very lurid light. I am sure the Government will not have neglected their duty in this respect; but cannot, ought not more to be done? In what I have said as to the necessity of some direct representation of the Indian people in the Councils I do not wish to disparage the efforts of the Anglo-Indian officials in the past, or in the present. No doubt they are keenly desirous to do their duty in difficult and delicate circumstances, but I think the time has come for a further step forward, a further alliance of what is best in the Indian and Anglo-Indian communities, for the futherance of everything which is calculated to promote the welfare of India. As Lord Reay said, "It behoves the representatives of British Rule in India never to forget that the people of India are shareholders in the splendid inheritance of the British Empire—an inheritance which, I feel convinced, they take equal pride with us in preserving and maintaining, because it is to them and to us the fountain of prosperity and peace."

"India," as its title suggests, is a journal established for the discussion of Indian affairs. It is a well-conducted publication, and the perusal of it from time to time cannot fail to enlist the reader's sympathies with India's teeming millions. The articles which appear within its pages week after week are by gentlemen well qualified by their experience and ability to write on the subjects of which they treat, and many of the reforms they advocate are no doubt needed to be pressed. Last week's issue discusses the question whether agitation in England on behalf of India is justified by results, and gives Mr. Dacosta's opinion of the north-western frontier policy in India, and there is a full report of the discussions on the Manipur disaster in Parliament. A reprint of the appeal issued in 1885 from the people of India to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland is also given, with a great deal of other matter dealing with Indian affairs.—*Southampton Times*, July 18.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMPULSORY LABOUR IN MADRAS.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—In his weekly letter to the Madras *Hindu* newspaper, of a recent date, its London correspondent has a paragraph on compulsory labour in India. He wishes to know how matters stand respecting the power of the State to compel an individual to contribute his labour on certain public works, works of irrigation generally. He does not state for what purpose his information is needed, but I desire to place the information before the English public through your valuable journal.

The enactment of the Government of India that legalises the enforcement of labour is Act No. 1 of 1858, entituled "An Act to make lawful compulsory labour for the prevention of mischief by inundation, and to provide for the enforcement of customary labour on certain works of irrigation in the Presidency of Fort St. George." The Act consists of six sections besides the preamble, and applies to the whole of the Madras Presidency except the scheduled districts, which from their backwardness enjoy an immunity from the operation of several legislative edicts which apply to other parts of the Presidency.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, the Government in India is despotism pure and simple, tempered by those to whom the word *despotism* calls up thoughts repugnant to cherished ideas, by the qualifying epithet of "benevolent". The preamble to the Act sufficiently shows the exuberance of the benevolent feelings on the part of the legislators of the year that succeeded the Mutiny—the year, too, in which the freedom of every Indian subject in matters personal, religious, and what not, was secured by the famous Proclamation of Her present Majesty the Queen-Empress. The preamble recites, "Whereas the safety of persons and property is endangered by inundations caused by sudden breaches of the embankments of tanks, rivers, and canals, and of anicuts and other like works; and it is necessary for the common good to make it obligatory on persons of the labouring classes, when duly called upon, to unite their labour to prevent such breaches, or to repair them instantly; and whereas it is expedient to make legal provision for the enforcement of the duty, which by local custom is incumbent on village communities, to furnish the labour required for the execution of certain works for the purpose of irrigation and drainage; it is enacted as follows:"

Section 1 confers power on the officer in charge of the irrigation works stated in the preamble to require the head of the village, or the heads of the villages in the vicinity, to collect all able-bodied male persons of the labouring classes to contribute their labour on an emergency for the prevention of damage to, or for repairing breaches in, such irrigation works. The emergency is defined in the same section to be imminent danger of the irrigation works "being breached and of a destructive inundation being caused thereby, which may be prevented by a large body of labourers working together to strengthen the embankment or other work; or when such a breach has occurred, if it shall appear to such officer that it can be repaired, and the inundation caused by it be stopped, by the immediate employment of a large body of labourers for that purpose," in such cases only, the impressment of labour is rendered lawful. When the officer in charge of the work is absent, the duty devolves upon the chief revenue officer of the taluq. In the absence of both of these responsible officers, the requisition for labour may be made by the head of the village himself when "the emergency is great and urgent."

Refusal or neglect on the part of any labourer to comply with the above requisition is made punishable by section 2, on conviction before a magistrate, with a fine which may extend to one hundred rupees, or with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with both.

By section 3, every labourer shall be paid for his labour by day at the highest rate paid in the neighbourhood for similar work, and if he is required to work at night, at double such rates.

Section 4 authorizes payment of wages from the public treasury; and if the work upon which the labourers are employed belongs to a private person, the expenditure incurred shall be recoverable from him as if the same were Land Revenue due to the Government. Section 5 embodies rules similar to those in the previous four sections, as regards requisition, supply, payment, and recovery for materials necessary for stopping breaches. Compensation is to be given for every material taken, "earth" including.

The last section deals with the liability of persons bound to contribute labour to a work of irrigation or drainage which, according to local custom, is usually executed by the joint labour of a village community; and any person who, without reasonable cause, neglects or refuses to comply with a call for such customary aid made to him by the head of the village under orders of the Tahsildhar or other superior revenue officer, shall be liable to pay a sum equal to twice the value of the labour which he is bound to contribute, such amount being applied to the expenses of any work of irrigation or drainage executed for the benefit of the village community to which the defaulter belongs.

Such is, in short, the legal provisions for enforcement of labour. As stated above, the Act applies to the Madras Presidency alone. I am not aware of what similar provisions are in force in other provinces.

In 1883-84, an attempt was made here to render the provisions for compelling labourers still more stringent and wider in scope. It was in the days of that righteous and noble-minded Viceroy, Lord Ripon, and when that brilliant intellectual luminary, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, resigned himself in the hands of his councillors, and proved to the world once more that brilliant accomplishments were not a guarantee for practical statesmanship. The country had then risen from its slumber. They had then learnt to make themselves heard. A loud protest from all parts of the Presidency gave the quietus to the *Kudimaramath* Bill, which means a Bill dealing with minor works of irrigation and drainage executed by the people interested, viz., the already hard pressed ryots.

The Act detailed above dealing with compulsory labour may smack of a legislative sanction of a phase of slavery. But, however vigorously I should raise my voice against the extension of impressment of labour, especially in directions in which Government moves under cover of philanthropy and consideration for public weal to lessen their obligations to the people, and to throw more burdens on the shoulders of the people which ought to be on their own, I think that not much objection could be taken against the existence of this Act of 1858 in the Statute book. As usual, it is not to the Act itself that much objection could be taken, but to the method or rather the absence of method in which its provisions are carried out. If punctual payment of the labourer according to the highest rate prescribed in the Act be ensured, the Act will lose most of the stigma that may attach to it. I may even venture to say that the necessity for collecting labour under sanction of the laws will be felt often times, at times of crisis most. The villages are divided often into factions, and under the factious spirit there will be unhealthy combinations, with want of due regard to the common wants which will be subordinated to the personal likes and dislikes. In such cases—and such cases are frequent and of notoriety—the necessity, imperative almost, to temporarily combine the factions for the promotion of a common work will be deeply felt. Such a welding, however evanescent its effect may be, is not without its educative influence. The people will be taught practically that they should so exercise a control over their passions as to triumph over them, though for a short time, that the interests in which they have conjointly a stake may be attended to and furthered. Such being the bright side of the picture, allow me to put forth a word of caution that this piece of legislation may not be lightly interfered with as clashing with any theory. I may add, for your information, that a system of *Kudimaramath* has been recently introduced, rather revived, in the Native State of Mysore. This is a significant instance which teaches a good lesson. It cannot be said of Mysore that it is governed by men alien in race and religion to the people governed, and ignorant of their customs and habits. On the other hand, the Mysore State, under the rule of the present enlightened Maharaja and his able Dewan, may be said to be now in its palmiest days, and in the estimation of the general public comes close to the realisation of, if not actually realises, the ideal of a model Native State. That in such a State it has been considered fit and proper to revive the *Kudimaramath* system is, as I said above, significant and pregnant with instruction. No doubt, in the beginning, there were murmurs here and there against the imposition of this new liability. But under a mild and firm enforcement of the new provisions much good work has been done; several minor irrigation works and repairs, despaired of execution before, were soon accomplished; and those who are wedded to land and labour have now become habituated to it again, and have submitted themselves cheerfully to what the State, as the representative of the corporate power of the community, has imposed upon them for their own and for their children's benefit. I earnestly trust, therefore, that any philanthropist who takes it into his head to lay hands upon this piece of Indian legislation will pause to consider the effects which his proposals may produce, and to take care at the same time that what he may desire to remove from the Indian Statute book as inconsistent with modern theories of individual liberty and the sacredness of one's person, is replaced by any other enactment consistent with such theories, which will secure the purposes which the Act of 1858 was intended to secure, and which, while respecting the individual, will not fail to teach him his responsibility and his liability to the community of which he forms the unit. R. S.

Coimbatore District.

LORD CROSS'S ASSERTION AS TO THE LACK OF INDIGENOUS ABILITY IN INDIA.

IF THE ASSERTION TRUE, THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES ALONE TO BLAME.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—Though it will be difficult to prove, in accordance with the rules of formal logic, the universal Affirmative Proposition, embodying Sir John Gorst's famous indictment against the Indian Government, in respect of what seems to him to be its attitude towards Indian talent, I think it is extremely easy to

prove the corresponding Negative Proposition in its *general* form, at any rate. For if the Indian Government does not—it would be absurd to suppose that any Government should—consistently follow out the policy of Tarquinius Superbus—it has actually done so in some cases, as you have been able to show—*neither* does it recognise, much less foster, native talent to anything like the extent that a so-called paternal government is expected to do.

It is, therefore, with pain and surprise that I read that part of Lord Cross's speech, during the Manipur debate in the House of Lords, where, no doubt with a contemptuous sneer, worthy of Lord Salisbury, his lordship is reported to have remarked that it is rather difficult than otherwise to find able men in India. To say the least of it, it comes with a very bad grace, especially in the form in which his lordship thought fit to put it, from the official head of a system, according to which, until lately, the natives of India were to all intents and purposes debarred from holding any of the higher offices of State, and which, even in its present improved form, offers numerous obstacles, which does not admit of natives, even the descendants of Rajputs and Mahrattas, holding any but the lowest official rank in the army, which is inconsistent with the establishment of military schools, even by native enterprise, and which is thought incompatible with the granting the most restricted system of volunteering to the Indian people. It is as if the few men to whom the highest posts have been most grudgingly given, and who, by the way, have all proved themselves most worthy of their trust, even most retrogressive English officials being judges, are not only a *few* of those who would have worthily filled offices as high as any to which their more fortunate compatriots have been appointed, but who are kept out of them, because the *majority* of these *must* be filled by Englishmen! And as to the higher qualities of statesmanship why there is no possibility for such qualities either to unfold or develop itself under the British *regimé*! For, witness this remarkable fact, one which those who want to rate at its true value the cynical remark of Lord Cross will do well to ponder over, that administrative talent, what little of it is to be now found in India is almost solely confined to the native States, while, all the vaunted progress in education notwithstanding, we have had no succession of men like Todar Mal who flourished in the days of the tyrannical and barbarous Mughal. What is the explanation of this singular anomaly? The answer is as I have indicated already, simple enough. Under the "beneficent" rule of England, there has not been, up to this at least, any scope given for the higher intelligence of the Indian to expand itself to anything like its normal extent, while when it has practically done so, it has found no field to work in. This seems a strong statement; but it is emphatically true. Let us take one or two specific examples of the latter kind and the former will follow as an *a priori* conclusion of the utmost logical accuracy.

Whoever knew the late Mr. Kristo Das Pál, will readily admit that he was a man who belonged to the highest order of intellect in any country, that if he had been an Englishman he would have been an ornament of either of the Front Benches. And yet in India how were his talents utilised? He was made a member of the Viceroy's Council, it is true, but it is no flight of rhetoric to say that he occupied a position more ornamental than anything else, being condemned to write Minutes which were mostly unattended to if they did not tally with the opinions of the Executive Council, and to watch, to all intents and purposes, passively his inferiors in ability, capacity, as well knowledge of the country and people, doing whatever they pleased with, what, practically speaking, were their own.

And to come nearer home, what does the present status of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in Indian politics teach us? He had to go all the way to Baroda to find some scope for a rare administrative ability. He was afterwards offered, through the consideration of Lord Reay, an ornamental position of whose nature I have spoken already, and which he very properly did not care for. And now he has at last, so I read in the papers, been offered a place in the Managing Committee of the Imperial Institute! Acknowledgedly the greatest Financier and Economist in India, he has never been allowed, nor likely will be allowed, to take part in the solution of the *one* problem of the Indian Administration, namely, the poverty of India, about which he understands more than any other living authority, while men like Sir Lepel Griffin have full power to preach and practice their false political economy and perpetrate immense mischief thereby, and now at last forsooth, the Government has found a way to utilise his great capacities by appointing him to be a member of the Imperial Institute!

It may be thought that I have, by implication, asked far too much. I quite understand that it may be impossible for a long time yet to make a native of India, say, a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, even if were undoubtedly fit for the post; but why not utilise his powers in the safer way, by giving him some control over the affairs of his own country? Why again, not only not encourage the growth of native talent in all its extended possibilities but actually add insult to injury by indulging in assertions and implications such as Lord Cross indulged in so lately?

These are serious questions, and these I commend to our ultimate Court of Appeal, the conscience of the British People.

K. L. M.

CIVIL COURT AND COURT FEES ACT.—Part II.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—I have shown in a previous letter how the people pay the Government for the administration of justice in the court of the first instance. I now proceed to show how they pay and the Government takes in the appellate courts. In the lower appellate courts judges sometimes decide appeals as soon as they are filed under section 551 of the Criminal Penal Code, upon the judgment as it stands and without serving any notice on the opposite party. This practice also finds place sometimes in the High Courts in special appeals. The appellant pays full court fees, and his appeal is heard for ten or fifteen minutes and is decided then and there. Now, I question the equity of the law which allows the Government to realise full court fees in the above cases. I think that the principle is open to serious objection and ought to be repealed. The unfortunate party whose appeal is rejected on first hearing should get a refund of his court fees which he has paid, minus the cost of hearing. The rent cases and small cause court cases (petty cases) take considerable time in the lower courts, but when they come on appeal they take very little time for adjudication. Why, then, should the party pay the same fee in the appellate courts in regular and special appeals as was paid in the first courts?

One may reason that appeals are heard by judges drawing larger pay than the munsiffs (subordinate judicial officers) and subordinate judges, and I may answer it thus: What necessity is there of conferring the power of hearing appeals to the district judges? The district judges are generally recruited from the joint magistrates' class, and the public may well conjecture the amount of civil legal lore which these magnates possess. As soon as the joint magistrate is transformed into a district judge the Government wishes the people to believe that this officer becomes the storehouse of all legal learning, and well acquainted with the intricate questions of Hindu and Muhammadan law. I need not point out the fallacy of this arrangement, which was made by Sir George Campbell when he held the helm of the Bengal Government. He perceived that when a joint magistrate expresses his inclination to serve in the judicial line, he should try petty civil cases which will be made over to him by the nearest munsiff (subordinate judicial officers). This arrangement worked well for some time. But no sooner had Sir George Campbell left the *musnud* of Bengal than the rule was observed in its non-compliance. There cannot be any reasonable ground in support of the sudden transformation of the joint magistrate into district judges. From their entering into the Civil Service till their elevation into the district judgeship they try only criminal cases, perform executive business, and reject criminal complaints which smack of a civil nature. When they become district judges, they have to hear appeals against the decision of the veteran subordinate judges and experienced munsiffs who have become old in deciding civil disputes. Can your readers imagine that a civilian who has set foot on India a few years before, and to whom the native customs and social rules are Egyptian hieroglyphics is in a position to decide the intricate questions of facts which have once been solved by a person who is conversant with them from his birth? The district judge is specially empowered to try some original cases such as disposal of unclaimed properties, grant of letters of administration, and certificates. It is beyond the abilities of the subordinate judges and munsiffs to dispose of those cases with equal intelligence and proficiency? The legislature has empowered the local Government to confer the power upon the munsiffs to grant certificates (*vide* section 26 (1) Act VII. of 1889). But we do not see any instance in which the local Government has deemed fit to exercise its discretion. The result of this has been that if a person dies, leaving a few bonds, or decrees of small amounts, his successor before going into court for realising the amount, must go to the district judge for a succession certificate, and if he be a minor his guardian shall have to take another certificate, and all these mean unnecessary waste of money, labour, and energy. If the munsiffs be vested with the above powers the public in the Mofussil may get speedy relief at a less cost and labour. Another duty which the district judge is enjoined to perform is the supervision of the courts subordinate to him. What happens in other districts I do not know, but the district judge of 24 Perganas, which is covered by a net work of railways, supervises his subordinate courts by reports and returns, and not by inspection. At the end of the month statements showing the disposal of contested and *ex parte* cases during the month are submitted by the subordinate munsiffs to the judges of the district, and if the latter finds any munsiff deciding less cases than those of another he is required to submit another explanation. But the nature of cases and evidence may differ, and it is very easy to decide some scores of rent cases, bond suits, within a month than to decide two regular title suits.

PUNDIT RAKHAL CHANDRA TEWARY,
Reader and Honorary Magistrate, Diamond Harbour,
24 Perganas, Bengal, L.P.

Diamond Harbour, 3rd July, 1891.

A SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—I thank you for your favourable notice of my book bearing the above title, and shall feel much obliged if you will allow me to offer a few remarks on the origin of the danger which I have ventured to denounce.

That the war, carried on for two years for executing the Afghan policy of the Beaconsfield-Salisbury Cabinet, failed completely in its object, is, I believe, a fact universally known; but the sad incidents of that war have scarcely received any attention from the public in England, and few persons seem to be aware of the humiliating conditions to which the British had to submit before our troops could be withdrawn from Afghanistan. This circumstance accounts for the feeble opposition raised against the revival of that unfortunate policy in 1885, and its active prosecution ever since. Expeditions have been, and are still being, sent across the frontier for enforcing the submission of the border tribes to our plan of establishing military posts in their territory, with the view of once more placing British garrisons in Cabul, Ghazni, and Candahar, and of ultimately advancing on Herat.

The authors of the scheme appear to have entirely disregarded the fact that the signal failure they encountered in 1878-80 was due to the physical nature of the country and the traditional character of the foe; that is, to permanent causes which are as potent to-day as they were in our previous attempts to subjugate Afghanistan; and that there is, consequently, no reasonable ground for expecting the scheme to be found less impracticable now than it proved to be in 1880. And yet, can we shut our eyes to the consequences of another unsuccessful war with the Afghans? Any repetition of the results of our campaigns of 1878-80 might almost destroy, in the eyes of Asiatics, the military *prestige* which has hitherto so powerfully aided the maintenance of British rule in India.

On the other hand, the rapidly growing military expenditure of the Indian Government since the revival of the scheme is literally exhausting its financial resources, and, by necessitating increased taxation, has produced a feeling of irritation and discontent among the Indian peoples, amounting to a political danger with which the Government has felt itself compelled to reckon. European residents all over India are being armed and organised for self-defence against any popular insurrection that may break out; and a Press law is once more under consideration. This critical state of things has, in a great measure, been brought about by the attempts made to secure the military occupation of Afghanistan: a project which, if it were realised, would, in the opinion of the highest authorities, greatly increase our perils and responsibilities, and weaken, in a corresponding degree, our hold over India.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
London, 18th July. J. DACOSTA.

INDIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE Rev. George Kerry, of Intally, Calcutta, writes as follows to the *Freeman*, "the organ of the Baptist denomination" in the United Kingdom :—

"I notice in your issue of 24th April you insert a paragraph taken from another paper, *India*, which states that 'the Rev. George Kerry and the majority of the missionaries now in India do not think it to be their duty to 'take sides' or to exhibit an active sympathetic interest in the reforms which the educated people of India are striving to obtain.' Will you kindly allow me to say that this statement is inaccurate and misleading? I, in common with other missionaries in India, have been asked to join the 'National Congress Movement,' and some missionaries have joined it.

"At a recent meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference the question was discussed as to what should be the 'relation of missionaries to political movements in India,' at which I read a paper in which I stated my views on this important subject. I send you a copy of the same, and I think you will fail to discover any expressions indicating a want of sympathy with the legitimate political aspirations of the people of India.

"It is well known in India that missionaries have not shown 'disregard of temporal things affecting Indians.'

"The official records of the Calcutta Missionary Conference show that missionaries have cared for the temporal needs of the people. It certainly does not follow because missionaries do not join a political organisation, like the National Congress that they are indifferent to the wants of the people."

The Congress is much more than "a political organization." In it is wrapped up the social and economic progress of the people of India. Indian missionaries gravely fail in their duty to the masses, whose interests they are supposed—rightly, in many cases, wrongly, in a great many more—to have at heart when they do not countenance and support the Congress movement, both as individuals and in a general sense.

AN EX-VICEROY OF FIFTY YEARS AGO A RADICAL INDIAN REFORMER.

FROM Mr. Bell's book, which we reviewed at length in our last issue, we quote as follows :—

"Nor was the meeting (at Glasgow) without immediate and encouraging results. The resolutions adopted included the constitution of a committee to memorialise the Lords of the Treasury and 'adopt such further measures, in bringing the subject before Parliament or otherwise, as they may find necessary or advisable.' In pursuance of this authority, the committee requested Mr. Henry Dunlop, their chairman, to invite the City Members to consider the subject and lend their assistance. The committee's memorial suggested that there should be a permanent settlement of the land tax—free grants made on lease of uncultivated lands—free importation of salt into India from all parts of the world—reduced rates of duties charged in this country on all Indian produce—the import duty here on all kinds of Indian grain abolished—irrigation works and improved roads constructed—and the cultivation in India of cotton, corn, tea, etc., encouraged.

"Now, there was, perhaps, no single individual in the British Isles to whose opinion on these subjects greater weight would naturally be attached by the general public than the gentleman who had been, so recently as August, 1837, elected one of the representatives of the city of Glasgow. Lord William Bentinck had had a long and varied Indian experience. He had been many years Governor of Madras. He was Governor-General of Bengal when the renewed Charter Act was passed. That Act vested the entire control of the civil and military government of the East India Company's territories and revenues in India in 'the Governor-General of India in Council;' and he became first Governor-General under its provisions. From that exalted station he had returned the year before he sought, and by the favour of the electors of Glasgow obtained, admission to the House of Commons. His experience and knowledge were vast and recent: his impartiality unquestionable.

"The citizens of Calcutta had just erected a public statue to commemorate the eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence of his rule. Mr. Macaulay wrote an inscription for the monument which might furnish watchwords for Oriental governors for all time. It described, without his title, 'William Cavendish Bentinck' as one who, having been placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen :—

"Who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom;
Who never forgot that the end of government is
The happiness of the governed:
Who abolished cruel rites:
Who effaced humiliating distinctions:
Who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion.

"The monument, it was set forth, was erected by men, who, though differing in race, in manners, in language, and in religion, cherished 'with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.' It was to this gentleman the appeal of the leading citizens of Glasgow—set forth, in moderate, clear, and dispassionate language—had been sent; and much importance naturally attached to his anticipated reply. That reply proved to be a virtual adoption of the views of the memorialists. The Lord Provost's letter had reached Lord William in Paris. After forwarding the memorial it enclosed to the Lords of the Treasury, he wrote to Mr. Dunlop:—'It gives me great pleasure to see the example presented by Glasgow to the rest of the empire, of a practical endeavour to carry out by more than merely verbal expression, measures for the improvement of the immense population—our fellow subjects be it remembered, from whom we collect a tribute of nearly three millions sterling per annum—of British India. I am sure that this endeavour has been, and will continue to be excited by higher inducements than those of mere personal gain and selfish commercial prosperity, which have hitherto too much characterised the whole of our policy towards that country.'

"After calling attention to the farewell addresses which had been presented to him on leaving India, and his answers to them in which latter he had admitted that alike our duty and our safety required us to observe a more generous principle of rule, he concluded:—'The TWO GREAT CAUSES of the little progress, to our shame be it spoken, of improvement of any kind in these extensive regions, have been MONOPOLY and IGNORANCE. It is through such means as you have proposed that the public mind can be brought to bear on the great question; and, when once made sensible of the great moral obligation imposed upon Britain, as the protecting power, and of the vast benefit to be accomplished in both countries, I am satisfied that a general eagerness will be shewn to REDEEM THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE PAST, AND TO RENDER THE BRITISH CONNECTION A REAL BLESSING TO INDIA.'

"High hopes were naturally entertained of the patriotic spirit and humanity of the writer of this letter; but, sad to relate, these were all doomed to meet with a bitter disappointment. The truth was, Lord William's health was sensibly failing in this winter of 1838-9; in June, 1839, after an all too brief Parliamentary career of less than two years, his death created a vacancy in the representation of Glasgow."

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

Sir John Gorst's most meagre and unsatisfactory statement regarding the Indian accounts on Budget night in the House of Commons, renders it necessary that we should quote more fully than we hitherto have done from the Explanatory Memorandum annually issued from the India Office. We make selections as follows:

FAMINE RELIEF AND INSURANCE.

For the first time since the 31st of March, 1886, the Government of India has found it possible, without imposing fresh taxation for the purpose, to appropriate to famine relief and Insurance the full allotment of Rx. 1,500,000 from Revenue. That sum it was decided, in accordance with the policy adopted in 1881,* annually to set aside for the actual relief of famine, for the construction of works calculated to protect the country from famine, or for the reduction of the existing debt, or avoidance of debt otherwise about to be incurred, so as to form a set-off against the borrowing that might be expected in a year when famine arose. The following table shows to what extent the revenue has been so appropriated:—

Years.	Famine Relief.	Construction of Protective Irrigation Works.	Construction of Protective Railways. Charged under Famine Relief and Insurance.	Construction of Protective Railways. Charged under Railway Revenue Account.	Reduction or avoidance of debt.	Total.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
1881-82	34,883	135,449	682,403	—	715,151	1,567,886
1882-83	22,103	263,443	−133,129	—	1,343,555	1,495,972
1883-84	9,205	283,223	649,248	—	581,137	1,522,813
1884-85	7,350	253,046	946,457	—	341,504	1,548,357
1885-86	40,695	186,807	589,000	29,271	683,498	1,529,271
1886-87	1,041	107,979	200,000	151,812	—	460,832
1887-88	402	91,006	—	285,199	—	376,607
1888-89	7,799	70,537	—	430,182	—	508,518
1889-90	68,288	71,457	—	462,009	460,255	1,062,009
Revised Estimate, 1890-91	8,000	75,600	—	462,009 506,200	516,400	1,106,200
Budget, 1891-92	3,000	65,000	975,000	457,000	—	1,500,000

EXCHANGE.

The following Table shows the amount of the net sterling expenditure in England in recent years, the average rate at which the remittances from India have been effected, the amount under the head of Exchange involved in that sterling expenditure, the further charge or gain in India on the remittance account, the additional estimated payment to the British soldiers arising from the fall in exchange, and the total charge on the revenues on account of Exchange.

Years.	Net Sterling Expenditure.	Average Rate at which Remittances were effected.	Exchange on Net Sterling Expenditure.	Exchange in India on Remittance Accounts.	Additional Payment to European Soldiers on account of Exchange (approximate).	Total Charge for Exchange.
	£	*d.*	Rx.	Rx.*	Rx.	Rx.
1881–82	14,043,000	19·895	2,897,000	+ 91,000	—	2,988,000
1882–83	13,800,000	19·525	3,166,000	+ 65,000	—	3,231,000
1883–84	14,770,000	19·536	3,375,000	— 61,000	46,000	3,360,000
1884–85	13,844,000	19·308	3,364,000	— 12,000	184,000	3,536,000
1885–86	13,756,000	18·254	4,330,000	—264,000	224,000	4,290,000
1886–87	14,172,000	17·441	5,330,000	+ 26,000	276,000	5,632,000
1887–88	15,128,000	16·898	6,357,000	—745,000	437,000	6,049,000
1888–89	14,653,000	16·379	6,818,000	—952,000	502,000	6,368,000
1889–90	14,513,000	16·566	6,513,000	—387,000	567,000	6,693,000
Revised estimate, 1890–91	15,413,000	18·113	5,009,000	—130,000	502,000	5,381,000
Budget, 1891–92	15,759,000	17·250	6,167,000	— 42,000	322,000	6,447,000

* (+ gain, —loss).

* The policy was adopted in 1877-78—four years earlier than is here stated. It is less than honest and far from candid to manipulate the figures in the way they are manipulated. The additional taxation in the years mentioned was, mainly, swept into the War Treasury. It is a pity there is not honesty enough in the India Office to state all the facts explicitly. Even the incomplete Return issued in June, 1889, went back to 1879-80, half-way to the beginning of the provision made for famine by the imposition of additional taxation.—Ed., *India.*

RAILWAYS.

The sanctioned mileage of railways in India on the 31st of December, 1890, was 18,166, of which 16,277 miles were open for traffic. The additional length opened in 1890 was 518 miles, of which 239 were on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 65 on the Southern Mahratta system, 50 on the Tirhoot line, 35 on the Eastern Bengal Railway, 24 on the Jammu and Kashmir, 42 on the Villupuram-Guntakal, and 63 on other lines. The length sanctioned during the year was 713 miles, namely, 251 of the East Coast Railway, 111 of the Godhra-Rutlam Railway, 69 on the Mysore line, 169 on the Jodhpore and Bikanir Railway, 31 on the Mayavaram-Mutupet Railway, and 82 on other lines.

Including capital expenditure on steam-boat service and suspense account, but excluding other indirect charges, the following are the general results of working the railways for the last three calendar years:—

—	1888.	1889.	1890.
Miles open at end of year ..	14,517	15,759	16,277
Capital outlay at end of year Rx.	193,043,257	205,046,099	212,829,359
Average cost per open mile ,,	13,298	13,011	13,075
Number of passengers carried	103,156,013	110,402,383	110,165,080
Number of tons of goods carried	22,393,202	22,155,164	22,193,293
Gross receipts .. .. .. Rx.	19,764,475	20,493,663	20,449,869
Working expenses .. .. ,,	9,874,347	10,377,401	10,260,880
Net receipts .. .. .. ,,	9,890,128	10,116,262	10,188,989
Percentage of net receipts on capital cost	5·12	4·93	4·79

While, however, the railways gave in India a return exceeding $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on their capital cost, the expense of paying in England the interest in gold was so heavy, that the result of the Railway Revenue Account is to impose a considerable charge on the Government as shown in the following statement:—

—	Account, 1889-90.	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.	Budget Estimate, 1891-92.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Receipts	16,605,601	17,007,600	17,872,400
Expenditure	18,458,202	18,014,400	19,374,100
Net charge ..	1,852,601	1,006,800	1,501,700

Large as is the amount of the net charge in recent years, it is much less than the sums included in the Railway Revenue Account for Exchange, namely:—

Accounts, 1889-90 .. .. .. Rx.2,517,090
Revised Estimate, 1890-91 .. 1,853,000
Budget Estimate, 1891-92 .. 2,226,400

IRRIGATION WORKS.

The following is the financial result of the works of irrigation during the three years to which the statement refers:—

—	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.	Budget Estimate, 1891-92.
Major Works:	Rx.	Rx.
Direct receipts	1,272,500	1,223,700
Portion of Land Revenue due to irrigation ..	720,900	756,200
Total Revenue	1,992,400	1,979,900
Working expenses	747,500	753,700
Net Revenue	1,244,900	1,226,200
Interest on Debt	1,082,000	1,107,000
Net Receipt	162,900	119,2[illegible]
Minor Works and Navigation: net Charge ..	754,500	841,700
Total net Charge	591,600	722,500

The direct receipts, of which nearly eight-ninths consist of rates for irrigation, are chiefly derived from the large canals in Upper India; namely, the Ganges, Lower Ganges, Agra, and Eastern Jumna canals, in the North-West Provinces, the Bari Doab, Western Jumna, and Sirhind Canals, in the Punjab, and the Son project in Bengal. Of the portion of the land revenue credited to irrigation works, about two-thirds is derived from those in the deltas of the great rivers in Madras, especially the Godávári and Kistna.

The capital outlay on the principal Works of Irrigation is as follows:—

—	Estimated in 1890-91	Estimated in 1891-92.	Total to end of 1891-92.	Percentage of Revenue in 1889-90 on capital outlay.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	
Bengal: Orissa Project ..	42,200	46,000	2,476,829	–·53
Midnapore Series ..	2,600	—	830,613	·93
Son Canal	15,700	14,000	2,565,364	·79
N.-W. Provinces:				
Ganges Canal	13,800	31,200	2,714,587	5·92
Lower Ganges Canal	24,900	31,700	3,137,536	2·06
Agra Canal	4,500	2,900	853,154	3·62
Eastern Jumna Canal	5,300	6,200	325,386	19·42
Betwa Canal	1,700	2,700	399,610	–·79
Punjab: Western Jumna Canal	6,500	5,000	1,068,113	6·66
Sirsa Branch Canal (State outlay) ..	48,000	55,000	116,474	—
Bari Doab Canal ..	2,800	10,000	1,590,372	7·93
Sirhind Canal (State outlay)*	–27,500	40,000	2,252,340	3·28
Chenab Canal	182,000	148,000	696,034	–·58
Swat River Canal ..	4,300	1,800	350,594	4·56
Madras: Godávári Delta Systm	1,500	6,300	1,091,106	15·24
Kistna Delta System	45,500	48,100	977,376	13·42
Sangam Anicut Systm	2,300	3,200	301,588	2·45
Kurnool Canal	—	—	2,164,167	–·20
Periyar Project ..	110,200	78,700	349,493	—
Rushikulya Project	44,700	35,000	217,670	—
Bombay: Eastern Nara Works	9,000	10,100	524,226	7·20
Mutha Canals ..	5,200	2,500	610,970	2·05
Nira Canal	24,200	20,200	506,376	–·03
Other Works	34,600	51,400	2,042,798	—
	604,000	650,000	28,162,776	4·09

The chief grants in 1891-22 are for the Orissa canals and the Kistna Delta System, for the Ganges, Lower Ganges, and Hidgellee Tidal Canals, for the Chenab, Sirhind, and Sirsa Branch Canals in the Punjab, and for the Periyar and Rushikulya projects.

TRADE.

The following is an abstract of the principal figures of the Trade returns for the three years ended 31st March, 1891:—

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Imports of private merchandise	66,570,318	66,560,121	69,035,305
Government stores	2,870,149	2,637,368	2,940,470
Total merchandise	69,440,467	69,197,489	71,975,775
Treasure	13,844,960	17,459,501	21,934,488
Total imports ..	83,285,427	86,656,990	93,910,263
Exports of Indian produce and manufactures	92,642,734	99,101,054	95,885,278
Foreign goods (re-exports)	4,335,437	4,295,808	4,238,153
Government stores ..	71,361	63,536	91,626
Total merchandise ..	97,049,532	103,460,398	100,215,057
Treasure	1,784,347	1,906,322	2,123,179
Total exports ..	98,833,879	105,366,720	102,338,236

BALANCE OF TRADE (APPROXIMATE).

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Exports of merchandise	97,050,000	103,460,000	100,215,000
,, gold	305,000	456,000	865,000
,, silver	1,479,000	1,451,000	1,258,000
Total	98,834,000	105,367,000	102,338,000
Imports of merchandise	69,440,000	69,197,000	71,976,000
,, gold	3,119,000	5,066,000	6,501,000
,, silver	10,726,000	12,389,000	15,433,000
Total	83,285,000	86,652,000	93,910,000
Net exports of merchandise ..	27,610,000	34,263,000	28,239,000
,, imports of gold	2,814,000	4,610,000	5,636,000
,, ,, silver	9,247,000	10,938,000	14,175,000
Excess of exports	15,549,000	18,715,000	8,428,000
Rupee paper enfaced for payment of interest in England	748,000	–67,000	5,138,000
Total surplus exports	16,297,000	18,648,000	13,566,000

* In addition to Rx.1,334,003 contributed by native states, to the end of 1889-90.

BALANCE OF TRADE (APPROXIMATE)—(*continued*).

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
Remittances by the Government: Payments in India for bills (including telegraphic transfers) drawn to defray home charges	22,011,000	22,610,000	19,095,000
Bills drawn on India for interest on enfaced rupee paper	872,000	882,000	892,000
	22,883,000	23,492,000	19,987,000
Excess of remittances by Government over surplus exports	6,586,000	4,844,000	9,421,000
Charges not defrayed by India: Equivalent (at average rate of exchange on remittances) of amount borrowed in sterling	532,300	4,576,000	2,107,000

DEBT AND PUBLIC WORKS.

In 1891-92 it is not expected that any loan will be raised in India, although it is intended to spend in that country Rx. 1,835,500 in the construction of public works beyond the sums supplied from revenue, and also to advance to municipalities and other public bodies, and to railway companies, further sums amounting to Rx. 1,192,500. In England provision was made in the Budget for the raising of a loan of £2,600,000 India 3 per cent. stock, of which £1,386,000 is required for the discharge of India 3½ per cent. debentures, and £117,100 for the repayment of debentures of the Oudh and Rohilkund and South Indian Railways, making the net increase of debt £1,096,900. Of this amount £445,000 is required for the discharge of similar debentures of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company, and the remainder is for advances to Companies constructing railways in India under engagements with the Government. The loan was issued on the 10th of June, and was subscribed at an average price of £94 10s. 2½d. per cent.

During the three years to which this statement relates, the outlay from revenue, from borrowed money, and from the balances, on the construction of Railways and Irrigation Works, is as follows:—

	Account, 1889-90.	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.	Budget Estimate, 1891-92.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
State Railways	2,799,432	2,994,100	4,135,500
Irrigation Works	458,907	604,000	650,000
	3,258,339	3,598,100	4,785,500
In addition to this, the outlay by companies guaranteed or subsidized by the Government (sterling payments being converted into Indian currency) is	3,864,032	2,454,000	2,145,200
Total	7,122,371	6,052,100	6,930,700

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

The following is a statement of the assets and liabilities of the Government of India. As Indian and English figures cannot correctly be added together without exchange, the totals of the two sets of figures are shown separately:—

Assets and Liabilities, 31st March, 1891.

ASSETS.	Rx.	£
Railways constructed by the State	68,470,000	—
Purchased railways	—	59,218,000
Advances to railway companies	—	3,590,000
Irrigation works....................	27,513,000	—
Loans to municipalities, &c..........	10,096,000	—
Cash balances	16,797,000	3,532,000
Total assets	122,876,000	66,340,000
Liabilities uncovered ..	–5,326,000	38,068,000
	117,550,000	104,408,000
LIABILITIES.	Rx.	£
Debt	102,745,000	104,408,000
Other Obligations	14,805,000	—
Total liabilities	117,550,000	104,408,000

The uncovered liabilities, therefore, are less than one year's net revenue. In India the liabilities are exceeded by the assets.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED BY THE "HANSARD" STAFF FOR "INDIA".]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

June 30.

Mr. H. J. WILSON (for Mr. Schwann): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the action of the Viceroy of India, in refusing to hear the counsel appointed by the Manipur princes (now under sentence of death) to appear before him, is based on precedent, or by some act or ordinance; and, in the latter case, under what act or ordinance?

BARON H. DE WORMS: On behalf of the Under Secretary of State for India (who is engaged on a Committee upstairs) I have to say the Government of India, as was explained in answers last week, is not tied by precedent, ordinance, or statute, in dealing with the Manipur prisoners.

July 2.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE.

Mr. PHILLIPS: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is true that the Bombay Government propose to appoint Mr. Webb to be Third Residency Magistrate, though this is a post which has usually been reserved for a native; whether he is aware that Mr. Webb is over 45 years of age; that though he has been in Bombay about 25 years his experience of work at the bar is very small, and that he is unacquainted with the provincial vernacular:

And whether the Secretary of State for India will cause a full inquiry to be made into all the circumstances attending the case?

Sir JOHN GORST: I must again ask the hon. member to postpone this question, as the Secretary of State has not yet received information which would enable an answer to be given.

UNDERGROUND EMPLOYMENT IN INDIAN COAL-MINES.

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether women and children work underground in coal mines in British India:

If there is any legislation dealing with the labour employed in these mines:

And, whether he will obtain and lay upon the Table of the House a report on the condition of those employed in the mines, with particulars of the legislation, if any, which at present affects them?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): There is no legislation in British India which regulates the labour employed in coal mines, and there is no statutory prohibition against the employment of women and children underground. But I am informed as a matter of fact, that in the State mines women and children are not employed, while in private mines they are. The hon. member will see from papers which have already been laid before Parliament a year ago, that the Secretary of State has called attention to the subject in connection with the working of mines in British India and I am informed that the Government of India are now in communication with the Secretary of State upon the matter.

July 3.

BOMBAY ENGINEERS.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, if the India Office will make inquiry into the refusal of the Government of Bombay to allow native applicants for certificates as engineers in local coasting steamers to be examined in their own native tongue, as is customary in every other country, instead of requiring them to prove to the satisfaction of the examiners that they speak and write English.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the question of the hon. member I have to say that the Secretary of State has received no official information from India upon this subject. The question of the hon. member has, however, been forwarded to the Government of Bombay for remark.

THE MANIPUR PRINCES.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is true, as stated in a Reuter's telegram from Simla, that the Government of India will grant the Manipur Princes ample time, say until the end of July, to prepare their appeal, by professional counsel, against sentence lately passed on them; and, in the negative case, will the Secretary of State urge that such facilities should be granted to them.

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir. The Government of India have already extended the time within which such representations will be received to the 31st of July.

FAMINE IN MADRAS.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the very serious account of famine in Madras, especially among the lower castes:

And, what course the Government propose to take.

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir. The danger of panic exists in some districts in the Madras Presidency, and it has for some time engaged the careful attention of my noble friend the Secretary of State. The official telegrams which are received fortnightly show that the Government of Madras are carefully watching the condition of the people and are taking steps for their relief from famine wherever necessary.

EAST INDIA (COLLEGES OF RURKI, SEEBPUR, POONA, AND MADRAS).

On the motion of Mr. King (Hull, Central) an address was ordered for return showing the capital cost of each of the four colleges of Rurki, Seebpur, Poona, and Madras; the annual expenditure and amount of the return in the shape of fees in each case; and the number of annual Government appointments from each of these colleges.

July 7.

DISTRESS IN CHINGLEPUT, MADRAS.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the distress among the pariahs, or low-class agricultural populations of Chingleput;

Whether he can give any information regarding the amount of that distress, and whether their lamentable condition is chronic in its nature:

Whether any measures have been adopted by the Government of Madras to ameliorate their condition, in addition to what is being done to deal with the distress caused by the famine;

Whether the Government have appointed any Commission to inquire into the distress;

And, whether the low caste population can acquire waste land for cultivation, like the caste Mirassidars or leaseholders?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): In reply to the first paragraph of the question of the hon. member I have to say that the present distress has attracted the attention of the Madras Government to the condition of the poorer classes in Chingleput. A careful statistical survey is being made of each district in Madras. The Chingleput district will be taken up soon, and inquiry will be made into the condition of all classes of the people. At the inquiry of 1887-88, the results of which are given in the "Condition of the People" return presented in June, 1889—it was stated that Chingleput, owing to its infertile soil, and to certain accidents of tenure, was among the most backward parts of the Madras Presidency. In reply to the second paragraph of the question I may say that the report on the inquiry of 1887-88 referred to above, says "the mass of the (Chingleput) people who are mostly agriculturists live from hand to mouth, and in adverse seasons are seriously hampered. The wages of an agricultural labourer's family are put at about ten rupees a month all told. The demand for all kinds of industrial labour other than weavers is increasing, while unskilled labour is, owing to the vicinity of Madras, everywhere better than it used to be. The answer to the third paragraph of the hon. member's question is that no special measures for the general improvement of the Chingleput people have been undertaken, beyond the repair of tanks and channels for irrigation. Extensive measures have been taken and are being carried out for the relief of distress caused by the recent failure of rain. No Commission has been appointed to inquire into the distress. The answer to the last paragraph of the question is that there is no bar either of law or of practice to low caste people obtaining and cultivating available waste lands on the same terms as high caste people.

BILLS ON INDIA.

Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the India Council have sold bills on India to the extent of nearly £6,000,000 up to the end of June, viz., the first quarter of their financial year, whereas the proportionate amount of their year's drawing, estimated by them at £16,000,000, should have been only £4,000,000:

And in view of the fact that the rate obtained has been on an average about two per cent. below that estimated in their Budget, that the price of silver during most of the time has been far above the parity of the Indian exchange realised for these bills, and that the present rate of exchange is about five per cent. above the rates accepted by the Council for a large portion of their drafts on India during the last three months, whether he can give any reason for selling at such low rates half as much again as the amount required in the past quarter.

Sir J. GORST: The answer to the first question of the hon. member is in the affirmative. Bills to the extent of £5,976,112 were sold in the first quarter of the financial year. In reply to the second paragraph of the question I have to say that owing to the requirements of Indian trade it is necessary to sell much the larger proportion of the bills in the first and the last quarters of the financial year. Within the last few weeks the amount offered for public tender has been reduced from 45 to 30 lakhs a week.

ROBBERY OF JEWELS AT HYDERABAD.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether certain natives from Hyderabad, in the Deccan, have lately been arrested in Bombay and brought before the chief magistrate on a charge of being concerned in a great robbery of jewels at Hyderabad in the year 1884:

Whether the British Resident at Hyderabad has applied to the Bombay High Court to have the case transferred for settlement to Hyderabad, where the owners of the jewels have been trying in vain for several years to obtain justice:

And, whether it is within the province of the British Resident at a Native Court to interfere in such a matter?

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no information upon this subject. The question will be transmitted to the Government of India in the ordinary course.

THE INDIAN TROOPSHIP SQUADRON.

Mr. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether there is any foundation for the statement which appeared in the *Times* of the 19th June, "That the Admiralty contemplated handing over the management of the Indian Troopship Squadron to the Orient Steam Shipping Company;" if so, will he state the terms of the arrangement:

Whether he is aware that these vessels occupy (upon an average) thirty days on the outward passage to Bombay, being ten days longer than that of merchant passenger steamers, besides consuming more fuel per day than similar modern merchantmen:

And, whether it is intended that these ships shall be fitted with more powerful and economical machinery?

The FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord George Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing): In reply to the question of the hon. member I have to say that there is no truth in the statement.

CRIMEAN AND INDIAN MUTINY VETERANS.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, if he can now state what steps he proposes to take this Session with reference to the relief of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): Yes, sir. I propose to make a provision on the lines I have already stated to the House. No legislation will be necessary.

THE THIRD PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE OF BOMBAY.

Mr. PHILIPPS (Mid-Lanark): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether a memorandum has been received from the Bombay Presidency Association strongly protesting against Lord Harris's intended appointment of Mr. Webb to be third Presidency Magistrate of Bombay;

And, whether the Government can now state their decision?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The memorandum has been received at the India Office, and is under the consideration of the Secretary of State. No decision has yet been arrived at.

BULWUNT RAO.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn) deferred his question in reference to the case of Bulwunt Rao until Friday.

INDIAN TROOPSHIP SQUADRON.

Mr. GOURLEY (Sunderland) postponed his question in reference to the Indian troopship squadron until Monday next.

JULY 10.

ALLEGED MURDER OF PARSEE WOMEN.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the agitation in Bombay consequent on the alleged murder of two Parsee women;

Whether he is aware that serious charges are brought against the police in connection with this affair;

And, whether he will recommmend the Bombay Government to institute an independent inquiry into the matter?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State has no information on this subject except such as may be obtained from the Bombay newspapers. It appears that a person has been committed for trial on a charge of murdering the women referred to. The Secretary of State will not recommend any interference by the Bombay Government with the due course of law.

CASE OF BULWUNT RAO.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has now received information as to the case of Bulwunt Rao, formerly an official of the Indore State, for whose arrest a warrant was recently obtained from the British residency magistrate at Indore, at the instance of the Maharaja Holkar, the ruler of Indore, on a charge of having written a letter in a local newspaper, commenting on certain proceedings of the Maharaja:

Is he aware that, although Bulwunt Rao was living at the time in the Gwalior State, where the warrant could not be legally executed, the warrant was nevertheless entrusted to a body of the Indore police, who seized and murdered Bulwunt Rao on the 19th of May last in the streets of Ujain:

Whether it has been brought to his notice that the widow of the said Bulwunt Rao has written a letter to the agent to the Governor-General for Central India charging the Maharaja Holkar with having ordered the commission of the crime, and also that Bulwunt himself, during the three weeks immediately preceding his death, wrote letters to various persons, one of whom is resident in this country, declaring that information had reached him from Indore that the Maharaja Holkar had issued orders to the police that he, Bulwunt Rao, should be made away with; that he, Bulwunt Rao had communicated this to the District Commissioner of the Gwalior State, who had promised to do his best to protect him, but that the Maharaja Holkar's police had then been encamped at the railway station for three weeks waiting to carry out the Maharaja's orders:

And, whether the Government of India will institute an inquiry into the truth or otherwise of the allegations thus made in writing by the deceased a few days before his death?

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State communicated with the Government of India on the subject of Bulwunt Rao, after the former question of the hon. member in this House, and the following telegram has been received in reply: "Agent to Governor-General in Central India reports that this man was arrested under warrant issued by the Residency Court, Indore, at the request of the Indore State for publication of a defamatory libel in the *Eastern Herald*. He was arrested in Ujain, by Gwalior and Indore police, one of our railway police being also present. He was apparently treated with great violence and died of syncope. The agent to the Governor-General reports that the durbars will use every effort to secure the punishment of the offenders. The case will be watched."

Mr. KEAY: Will the right hon. gentleman reply to the last paragraph of the question—whether the Government will institute an inquiry into the truth of the allegations made by this man a few days before his death?

Sir J. GORST: I really cannot say whether the Government of India will make any further inquiry at present as the case is before the court. It would be beyond the province of the Government of India to interfere until a report, in the ordinary course, has been received.

JULY 14.

THE INDIAN TROOPSHIP SQUADRON.

Mr. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether he is aware that the vessels comprising the Indian Troopship Squadron occupy (on an average) thirty days for each passage on the outward and homeward voyage to Bombay, or about ten days more than that of merchant passenger steamers, besides consuming more fuel per day than modern merchantmen of similar tonnage and type;

And, whether it is intended that these vessels shall be fitted with more powerful and economical machinery; if so, when, and at whose expense, that of the Home or Indian Government?

The FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord G. Hamilton, Middlesex, Ealing): The average time taken by the Indian troopships in the passage to and from Bombay is twenty-seven days, but the coal consumption is less than that of a merchantman of similar tonnage running at high speed. When it is necessary to supply the machinery of these ships, the question of fitting engines of an improved type will be considered. Such an expense would be a charge on Indian funds.

HINDUSTANI REGIMENTS.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the regiments, raised in the places of the four Hindustani regiments recently disbanded, though retaining the numerical titles of the disbanded or "converted" corps, are, in fact, new, being not only composed of other races but placed with some few exceptions as to juniors under a new cadre of officers:

Whether the band and mess funds of a regiment are, and have always been, considered by military authorities in England and India as its private property, and have, on disbandment, been distributed among it officers; and, if so, will he explain on what grounds the Government of India announced, in April, 1891, in general orders, that the band and mess funds of the old regiments should be handed over to the new, although the officers of the new regiments were ready and willing to pay for what was handed over:

And, whether similar steps have been taken with regard to certain disbanded Madras regiments?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): There has been some irregularity in this matter. The Secretary of State will call for a report from the Government of India upon the subject.

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN (Hythe): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Secretary of State for India is prepared to sanction the connection, on the same gauge, of the 2,008 miles of metre-gauge railway now working in Rajputana, the North-West Provinces, and Central India with the Kattiawar system, 334 miles in length, on the one hand, and the Oudh and Bengal systems, about 1,420 miles in length, on the other, thereby enabling direct and uninterrupted through communication over 3,765 miles of metre-gauge railway, constructed at a cost of £20,000,000 sterling (of which four-fifths were provided by the British Indian Government), but now separated into four distinct sections which can be linked up in one continuous whole by the construction of, in all, about 120 miles of new line in two short lengths, at an estimated cost of £200,000, excluding a permanent bridge over the Gogra River, or of £400,000 including such a bridge.

Whether the Secretary of State for India has received communications from the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company, who work 1,672 miles of the metre-gauge State lines in Rajputana, Central India, and the North West, and from the Bengal and North Western and Rohilkund and Kumaon unguaranteed Railway Companies, who work over 1,000 miles of the metre-gauge lines in Bengal and Oudh, and also memorials from the Chamber of Commerce of Upper India, Cawnpore, urging the completion of the connection in question:

And, whether he is in a position to state that such connection shall be carried out without further loss of time, as the railways effected are in a satisfactory financial condition, and are anxious to get the work done at once.

Sir J. GORST; My noble friend the Secretary of State is fully alive to the advantages which may accrue from the connection referred to in the hon. member's question and is in communication with the Government of India on the subject.

MRS. MELVILLE.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Government of India have resolved to give Mrs. Melville, widow of the Superintendent of Telegraphs, who was cruelly tortured and murdered by the rebels in Manipur, no other provision than a pension of £100 a year for herself and of £18 a year for each of her two boys;

Whether he is aware that Mr. Melville had, at the time of his death served the Government of India for twenty-one years, was in receipt of a salary of Rs. 800 a month, or about £700 a year, and could have returned home in 1892 on a pension of £400 a year;

And, whether in view of the fact that Mr. Melville was a civil servant employed in the execution of his duty, and was permitted by the Government he served to pass into Manipur without warning or indication of danger, insomuch that he carried no protective arms and had only two small-shot cartridges for his fowling-piece, the Secretary of State will recommend the Government of India to make some more adequate provision for the family of a man whose life was thus sacrificed through no fault of his own.

Sir J. GORST: The Government of India has proposed to the Secretary of State in Council that such provision shall be made for Mrs. Melville as would have been made for the widow of a military officer of corresponding rank, namely a Captain, if killed in action. The proposal is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

Mr. MACLEAN: I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman if any comparison can be made between a Superintendent of Telegraphs and a military officer who is bound to risk his life in action, and if Mr. Melville was not employed in public work as a civil servant and permitted by the Government to pass into Manipur without the slightest warning that there had been a disturbance or that any danger existed. I should also like to ask the right hon. gentleman if the same principle which is applied to a military officer is applicable to an officer in the civil service, and, if so, why a different scale of pension has been granted to Mrs. Grimwood?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! the hon. gentleman is now putting an argumentative question.

Sir J. GORST: I cannot give the opinion of my noble friend the Secretary of State upon such a matter without notice.

Sir W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he does not consider that in reference to Mr. Melville he occupied a much better position than a military officer of the same rank?

Sir J. GORST: I cannot say what the opinion of the Secretary of State may be without notice.

Mr. MACLEAN: Are we to understand that the question is still under the consideration of the Secretary of State and if he is open to receive communications on the subject?

Sir J. GORST; Yes, sir.

July 17.

SALE OF OPIUM IN THE BROACH DISTRICT.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been drawn to the statement that the licence for the sale of opium in the district of Broach requires that the licensee shall sell not less than five and a-half tons of the drug per annum, and that he was liable to a fine of Rs. 10,195 for selling one ton short of his guaranteed quantity, and whether the fine has been exacted;

Whether his attention has been drawn to the statement that the quantity of opium compelled to be sold to the population of Broach (326,930 people), equals twenty million four-grain poisonous doses, and whether this statement is correct;

Whether it is the case that the opium licensee may open many shops under his one licence, and also that the Government takes power to compel him to open new shops;

Whether his attention has been drawn to the statement that in sixteen districts of the Bombay Presidency the consumption of the drug has increased 30 per cent. in five years, and whether this statement is correct;

Whether his atttention has been drawn to the statement in the "Moral and Material Progress of India" that it is proposed to close the Cheendoo shops where prepared opium is smoked upon the premises, as the existence of these houses tends to spread the vice of opium smoking, which is of recent origin in most parts of the Punjab, and whether the Government will urge upon the Government of India the expediency of giving prompt effect to this proposal;

Whether the India Office has yet received a reply from the Government of Burma to the inquiry promised 26th February into the allegation that in the town of Akyab there are several hundreds of opium dens, though but one opium licence is reported as given out;

And, whether he will ask the Indian Government to withdraw provisions calculated to stimulate the consumption of opium in India, in accordance with the decision of the House of Commons?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The reply to the two paragraphs of the hon. member's question is in the affirmative. The facts are correctly stated in the question but I am not aware whether a four grain dose is poisonous or not. As to the third paragraph the licence holder cannot open more shops than are named in the licence unless required to do so by the collector. The reply to the fourth paragraph is that the information which the hon. member has received is erroneous. The increase during the last four years has been about 7 per cent. although there was a large increase in 1886-87 that increase was attributed mainly to the repression of smuggling. The answer to paragraph five is that it appears from page 94 of the report for 1889-90 presented in May last, that all the cheedoo shops in the Punjab have been closed with satisfactory results. As to the sixth paragraph the inquiry was sent to India in March, but no reply has yet been received. In reply to the last of the hon. member's questions, I have to say that it is not the policy of the Government of India to stimulate the consumption of opium or any other intoxicant.

COMPULSORY VACCINATION IN INDIA.

Mr. SUMMERS (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he can inform the House to what districts in India compulsory vaccination extends;

Whether municipal bodies and other local authorities have power to introduce compulsory vaccination within their respective local limits;

Whether the compulsory vaccination system is uniform, or whether its provisions differ in different localities;

Whether any provision exists in India analogous to section 31 of the English Act of 1867 as regards cumulative penalities;

And, whether he can state the number of prosecutions and the number of imprisonments for non-vaccination that have taken place in recent years?

Sir J. GORST: Compulsory vaccination exists in four districts of Bengal and 183 municipal cities and towns in different provinces of India. The reply to the second question is that the extension of the compulsory law is effected by the local government, but generally on the initiative of the municipal or other local authority. The provisions vary slightly in different provinces. Provisions exist in the Indian Law analagous to those enhancing punishments under the English law. The Secretary of State cannot state the number of prosecutions, but so far as he is aware there have been no imprisonments.

INDIAN NATIVE ENGINEERS.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Government of Bombay has refused to allow native applicants for certificates as engineers on board of local coasting steamers to be examined in their own language;

Whether the coasting vessels referred to are commanded and manned wholly by natives;

Whether in other countries candidates for such certificates are examined in their mother tongue;

And, whether he will cause inquiries to be addressed to the Government of Bombay on the subject?

Sir J. GORST: I must ask the hon. member to postpone the question for the present.

SALE OF "GANJA."

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the statement in the *Allahabad Pioneer*, of the 10th of May last, that ganja, "which is grown, sold, and excised under much the same conditions as opium," is far more harmful than opium, and that "the lunatic asylums of India are filled with ganja smokers";

Whether he is aware that the possession and sale of ganja has been prohibited for many years past in Lower Burma, and that the exclusion of the drug was stated in the excise report of that province for 1881-2 to have been "of immense benefit to the people";

And, whether he will call the attention of the Government of India to the desirability of extending the same prohibition to the other provinces of British India?

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has seen the statement mentioned in the first paragraph of the question about the sale of "ganja." The facts are as stated as to the exclusion of ganja from Burma. The answer to the third paragraph is that in Bengal—the province where ganja is principally consumed—the price of duty paid on ganja has greatly increased during recent years, making its consumption more expensive. The Secretary of State will inquire whether the Government of India will propose to take further steps to limit the consumption.

THE ANTI-OPIUM SOCIETY.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has yet received any answer from the Government of India in regard to the memorial presented to Lord Cross from the Anti-Opium Society on 31st July, 1890.

Sir J. GORST: No answer has yet been received, but a reminder has been sent to the Government of India in accordance with the promise I made to the hon. member on the 29th of May.

OPIUM LICENSES.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether his attention has been called to the issue of licenses for the sale of opium by the Government of Bombay, and especially to the provision requiring a certain amount to be sold by the licensee under heavy penalties;

Whether, considering the assurance given by him that the policy of the Indian Government was to diminish the cultivation and consumption of the drug, he will cause representations to be made to the Government of Bombay, so that no such provisions should be inserted in future licenses.

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State is aware that licensed opium vendors in Bombay engage to sell a specified quantity of licit opium. A table showing the minimum for each district is given at p. 10 of the Bombay Opium Report. The Revenue officers of the Bombay Government believe that the existence of this minimum tends to prevent licensed vendors from dealing in opium illegally smuggled from the adjoining native states. The Bombay Government will be invited to consider whether the existence of the minimum tends to encourage an increased consumption in British districts, and if it does so tend, they will doubtless alter the system.

DEKKHAN AGRICULTURAL RELIEF ACT.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether, with reference to the proceedings of the fourth Provincial Conference of the Bombay Presidency, which sat at Poona on the 11th of May last, the attention of the Secretary of State for India has been drawn to Resolution 6, on the subject of the Dekkhan Agriculturalists Relief Act, which states that the Conference viewed with alarm the proposal to abolish the conciliation system under the Act;

And, whether, as desired by the Conference, the Secretary of State will direct that the most recent reports of the special officers connected with the working of the Act be published, with a view to enable the public to submit their representations to Government in the matter.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State has seen in the newspapers the statement referred to in the first paragraph of the question. The subject of the Dekkhan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879 is now under the consideration of the Government of India and until an expected despatch is received from them, no action will be taken by the Secretary of State in Council.

July 21.

GILGIT AND CHITRAL.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will lay upon the Table the Papers that explain the circumstances under which British political officers and Indian troops came to be stationed in the remote valleys of Gilgit and Chitral, in the Himilayas, far beyond the boundaries of British India, or will he give references to the despatches showing under what authorities that occupation of these remote districts was undertaken?

And, will he state what troops and Officers are now stationed there?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): Neither a political officer nor Indian troops are stationed at Chitral. Gilgit is part of Kashmir, and a political officer and Kashmir troops are stationed there. An agent was first stationed at Gilgit in 1877; he was withdrawn in 1881 and re-established two years ago. There are no papers which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State can be laid before Parliament without injury to the public service.

JULY 23.

OLD CRIMEAN AND INDIAN SOLDIERS.

Mr. J. WILSON (Lanark, Govan): I had given notice of my intention to ask the Secretary for War a question as to the application of the money to be devoted to the old Crimean and Indian soldiers, but as the right hon. gentleman is not in his place, I will postpone it until to-morrow.

JULY 24.

PROMOTION OF OFFICERS ON THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLEN (Durham, S. E.): I had given notice of my intention to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Secretary of State for India has had under his consideration the advisability of taking some steps to accelerate the present slow rate of promotion of Officers of the Indian Staff Corps; if not, whether he will give early consideration to the subject;

And, whether he is in a position to make any communication to the House as to the views of the Government of India on this matter.

As I do not see the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary in his place, may I ask whether any other member of the Government is prepared to answer the question?

There was no response.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLEN: Then as there is no minister present who is instructed to answer the question I will defer it until to-morrow.

SALE OF OPIUM IN INDIA.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he is aware that an examination of the last statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India shows the total number of places licensed for the sale of opium in the Indian Empire to be 11,244;

And, whether that number is correct, or the statement he made on 25th of June, when he gave the total number of licences as 8,834.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State considers that this question is based upon some error of computation. The Moral and Material Progress Report shows no such total as that which is indicated in the question.

CHIEF RESIDENCY MAGISTRATE AT BOMBAY.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N. E.): In the absence of the Under Secretary of State for India, I beg to postpone the question, of which I have given notice to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Secretary of State is aware that Mr. Slater, a junior barrister, has been appointed by the Bombay Government to act as Chief Residency Magistrate at Bombay;

And, whether Mr. Slater is duly qualified, according to the regulations, to hold this appointment?

OLD CRIMEAN AND INDIAN SOLDIERS.

Mr. JOHN WILSON (Lanark, Govan): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether the sum of money to be devoted to the old Crimean and Indian Soldiers will also be applicable to the Land Transport Corps who served before the fall of Sebastopool.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): The Land Transport Corps who served in the Crimean and Indian campaigns would have a claim to the same treatment as other soldiers who served in the same campaign.

EAST INDIA (OPIUM).

On the motion of Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.), an address was ordered for return of an article on opium by Dr. Watt, reporter on Economic Products for the Government of India, recently written by him, and intended to be published in the sixth volume of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

JULY 24.

The EARL of NORTHBROOK in rising to call attention to the case of Col. George Jackson commanding the 5th Bengal Cavalry and to move for an address for a copy of the regulations under which officers of the old local Indian Service may be compulsorily retired said: My lords, this is the first time since I have had anything to do with politics, and it is now many years since that I have felt it my duty to bring to the notice of Parliament the personal case of an officer, and in this particular case I am sure your lordships will excuse me for so doing, because the officer was for four years on my personal staff; and I believe everyone will sympathise with me when I say that being under considerable obligations to the officer for his service I feel it my duty to do my best to prevent him being treated with what I conceive to be injustice. I have had an opportunity of reading the whole of the papers connected with this officer's case, with which papers he was of course not furnished by the Government, and I have reluctantly come to the opinion in the first place that Col. Jackson has been treated with carelessness and harshness almost amounting to injustice by the authorities in India, and that his appeal has not received that consideration which it ought to have received from the noble lord, the Secretary of State for India in Council. Moreover he has been told he will be placed compulsorily in retirement; and I am of opinion that the intention to treat him in that manner is contrary to the Parliamentary guarantee which was given to officers of the local Indian Service, of which Service he is a member. Now, my lords, I will deal very shortly with the military part of the case. Col. Jackson is an officer who has seen thirty-two years' service. He served in the Umballa campaign and in Abyssinia. He did excellent service on the staff of three succeeding Viceroys of India. He commanded for three years the Governor-General's body guard. He was then appointed second in command of the 12th Bengal Cavalry where the reports of him were so good that he was specially selected to take the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, a regiment which at that time was in very bad order. The regiment was ordered to Meanmeer, one of the most unhealthy stations in India, and the regiment was in a state of sickness, and inefficient on that account; yet, notwithstanding that he had been in command of the regiment for six months, a public report of the regiment was made by Sir Hugh Gough, the officer commanding at Meanmeer; and afterwards, in October, 1888, when the regiment left Sir Hugh Gough's command, he publicly addressed the regiment, in terms which were positively enthusiastic, as regarded its condition, and in reference to what Colonel Jackson had done with the regiment up to that time, October, 1888, as compared with its condition when Colonel Jackson took command of it. The regiment then went to Delhi and afterwards to Lucknow, and it was again inspected by Sir Charles Gough in March, 1889. The inspection of the regiment by Sir Charles Gough was distinctly satisfactory. Colonel Jackson, unfortunately, was not able to obtain the approval of Brigadier-General Nutt, the Inspector-General of cavalry. The report of Brigadier-General Nutt upon the regiment was entirely inconsistent with the reports of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Charles Gough. He reported unfavourably upon the regiment. I may mention that Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Charles Gough have been for the whole of their lives in the cavalry service in India, whereas Brigadier-General Hutt—I do not mean to express any doubt as to his ability—was a British cavalry officer, and could not be expected to know so much of the interior economy of an Indian regiment as officers who had been so long in the service. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, I do not know for what reason, but I presume because of the considerable inconsistency between those reports, determined that Colonel Jackson should have another trial, that another report should be made upon him and his regiment, after which it should be considered whether he should remain in command of it. But at that time Colonel Jackson had had the misfortune to lose his father; and a short time after the inspection of his regiment by Sir Charles Gough he applied for leave to go home upon his private affairs. He left India without any distinct intimation having been given him that he would prejudice his position in any way by returning home on leave. And, therefore, he was, as your lordships may well understand, somewhat surprised a few months afterwards to receive a private suggestion from the Adjutant-General's Department in India that it would be convenient he should retire from the service at the expiration of his leave. Of course Colonel Jackson, having the pride of an officer and having shown that he did bring his regiment into proper order, declined to accede to the suggestion. The next thing that happened was that he received an official intimation from the Government of India, through the India Office, containing, I think, the most extraordinary request that was ever made, or that I ever heard of as having been made, to an officer. That was that he was called upon to show cause why he should not be retired from the service at the expiration of his leave. I have always thought if any officer was to be compulsorily retired from his position on account of certain charges brought against him, he should have an opportunity of meeting those charges, and that it should not be put upon him to show cause why he should not be called upon to retire upon the expiration of his leave. Against that decision Colonel Jackson appealed to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Governor in Council. The Commander-in-Chief had not intended to give Colonel Jackson an opportunity of further trial before he was removed from the command of his regiment, and I should have thought the Governor-General in Council would have seen that as Colonel Jackson had not had any intimation that he was to be treated in this way, he would have let him go back to India, and if at the expiration of his leave it appeared that he should not have the command of his regiment it might have been given to somebody else. But, no: the whole of the papers were sent back to India, and after the expiration of a considerable time Colonel Jackson received another letter from the Secretary of State for India in Council containing no discussion, no explanation of any of the points he had raised in his appeal, but simply an intimation that it was desirable he should send in his application to retire. With considerable experience of such matters I do not recollect any case in which an officer was ever treated in that way before; but still I am not a military man, and your lordships have in this House my noble and gallant friend the Adjutant-General of the army in India under my late noble and gallant friend, Lord Napier of Magdala, who will be able to give your lordships a much better opinion upon the military part of the case than I can pretend to do. But I say again, supposing Colonel Jackson had not been quite up to the mark in bringing up this regiment to good order, he should not have been called upon to retire. Why should not he have been put back to his old regiment which he would have obtained command of in due course, or have been given some other command in India? There was no reason because I can assure noble lords that there has not been a single word said against Colonel Jackson through his whole career with regard to his conduct as an officer, or as to his mental or physical capacity. Yet he is to be compulsorily retired. So far upon the military aspects of the case. I should like to say with regard to my statement with which I opened, that I am afraid I must state my opinion that proper consideration has not been given by the Secretary of State for India in Council to this appeal. I hold that an officer has a right to appeal to the Secretary of State for India in Council if he thinks he has been ill-treated by the authorities in India; and if he does appeal I think the Secretary of State for India in Council is bound to make proper inquiry into the circumstances of his appeal. I think it would be only right in the case of an officer of upwards of thirty years' service he should be told that what he has put into his appeal is not correct; if that be the case, and that therefore the Secretary of State for India in Council is not able to comply with his appeal. Colonel Jackson in his appeal raised several points of most serious consequence in respect of the manner in which his case has

been treated in India. I will not dwell upon them in detail, but there were most extraordinary inconsistencies and misstatements in matters of fact on the part of superior officers on whose recommendations Colonel Jackson has been so treated, I would ask the Noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India, whether he thinks an officer should have been so treated without any notice from the Adjutant-General's Department that he would be treated in this way; that he should have been allowed to leave India under those circumstances, and that when he gets home advantage should be taken of him to force him out of the Service. If the Adjutant-General intended to take this advantage of Colonel Jackson, it was his duty to send that gentleman a letter saying what was intended to be done in India, but it was on the distinct understanding that his position should not be in any way prejudiced that he was allowed to go home. That was a manner in which it seems to me an officer of long service should not have been treated; but as I say, this is a military question, and I will not undertake to deal further with it. Now I come to a part of Colonel Jackson's case which to my mind is more important than the military question. In Colonel Jackson's appeal he said this, as he had a right to do:—"I desire to state that I am an officer of the local service and within the provisions of the Henly clause, under which I apprehend misconduct has hitherto been held to be a necessary precedent to compulsory retirement." I must here point out to your Lordships, and I should have done so before that it is of course a very grave and serious matter for an officer to be removed from the command of his regiment, but the course taken with regard to Colonel Jackson adds to that an additional and most serious punishment of preventing him going on to serve for his Colonel's allowances, that is the pension which Indian officers receive after a certain number of years' service. I may venture upon this matter to say that I have some knowledge of the ground upon which Colonel Jackson makes this statement, because I happened to be Secretary of State under my late noble friend, Lord Halifax, then Sir Charles Wood, at the time when the question of maintaining a separate European force for India was considered, when Parliament decided, after considerable controversy and difference of opinion, that that force should no longer be continued, and when there were apprehensions entertained that officers would not be treated, after the local European force had ceased to exist, in the same way as they had been treated by the East India Company. A distinguished politician, whose name probably some at any rate of your lordships will recollect, Mr. Henly, took this matter up, and in the House of Commons he introduced a clause into the European Forces (India) Act, by which all the advantages of position were guaranteed by Parliament to those officers in any alterations in organisation which might take place. That clause has been the foundation of Colonel Jackson's appeal, and I will venture to read it. It says: "Provided that the advantages as to pay, pensions, allowances, privileges, promotion and otherwise, secured to the military forces of the East India Company by the 21st and 22nd Vict., section 56"—that was the Act which transferred the Government of India to the Crown—"shall be maintained in any place for the reorganisation of the Indian Army. The conditions of the East Indian Company's service were well known at that time. There had been a Royal Commission, of which my noble friend the Earl of Derby was a member and General Peel was chairman, and the whole proceedings of the East India Company with regard to their officers were considered, and their regulations were appended to the Report of that Commission. It was there distinctly stated that officers should remain on the list until they received their Colonel's allowances—of course unless removed for misconduct or mental or physical incapacity. I may observe that this guarantee granted to these officers was heartily accepted by Sir Charles Wood at the time. He supported the Clause. It was done with the full cognizance of Parliament; it was alluded to on one or two occasions in general orders which were published in India, and the officers of the local forces were told over and over again that those privileges and advantages would be maintained to them. As regards this particular case and the manner in which this guarantee applies to Colonel Jackson your lordships will see it applies in this way. Colonel Jackson says that compulsory retirement from the service—that is what the Secretary of State wishes to apply to him—unless for misconduct or physical or mental incapacity is contrary to the guarantee given by the Henly clause. I suppose, my lords, there is no man who could be relied upon to give a fair and authoritative opinion as to what the practice is in such matters better than the late Lord Napier of Magdala. Here is his opinion as to what the rights of the local officers are under this clause. He says, in a Minute dated October 26, 1871: "The Parliamentary guarantee secures to the officers of the local service all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed under the East India Company. Under the East India Company no officer was ever removed from the service"—here is the point—[although, no doubt, the Company possessed the power of doing so] unless sentenced to such punishment by court martial. I think it cannot be disputed that this was a virtual contract between the Company and those who entered its military service, and it appears to me that it would be a breach of the spirit of the guarantee if the Government were now to substitute a mode of terminating the service of officers which was never recognised or practised by the Company." It might be supposed that this opinion expressed by Lord Napier of Magdala did not apply to such a case as that which I have brought before your lordships, but I beg to assure your lordships that that is not so, for this opinion was given in a precisely similar case. It so happened just before I went myself to India in 1872 that the Government of India and the Government at home were in considerable difficulty in consequence of the great number of unemployed officers in India who were going on on "general service," as it was called, which really meant doing nothing, drawing half pay, and completing their time for their Colonel's allowances. Naturally it was considered whether some of them should not be retired upon their Colonel's pensions. There was a good deal of correspondence between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India, and this Minute which I have read of Lord Napier of Magdala was written in reference to that particular case. I read it for the purpose of showing that it would have been a breach of the guarantee then in 1872 to force officers into retirement compulsorily who belonged to the local service unless for misconduct or for physical or mental incapacity. The words used by the Secretary of State for India and by the Government of India were very much the same. It was laid down in despatches of the Secretary of State that officers should not be retired unless under the system in force before the amalgamation for causes such as would have been effectual then, namely, moral delinquency or incapacity. And again in another despatch the words are added "misconduct or proved mental or physical incompetency." I have shown your lordships there is no pretence for alleging incompetency or incapacity in Colonel Jackson's case, and therefore I am putting to your lordships that Colonel Jackson's case comes within the terms of the Parliamentary guarantee, and that the Secretary of State for India in Council if he really proposes to act upon the intimation which Colonel Jackson has received, would, in my opinion really be committing a breach of faith towards Colonel Jackson as an officer who has received a Parliamentary guarantee. That is my view of that part of the case. My Lords, I am sure my noble friend will not in reply to this argument take any legal view. I am sure he will not say there is no legal claim; he will not say there is a legal right on the part of the Secretary of State for India in Council, or the Crown to act in this way. That is not the question. The question is whether the Secretary of State for India in Council is acting now in the manner in which the Court of Directors would have acted if the case had occurred in their time; and, if my noble friend has the slightest doubt in that matter perhaps he will allow me to remind him that this is not the first time in which a claim of this sort has been brought forward. When the Staff Corps was first formed in India in 1861, a great many complaints were made by officers in India that they were treated contrary to the Parliamentary grant. My late chief, Sir Charles Wood was then Secretary of State for India. He did not treat it as a matter of law. He appointed a Royal Commission, of which Lord Cranworth was Chairman, to examine into the claims of these officers. The members of that Commission made their report, and he acted in accordance with their report. In their report they laid down very particularly that it was not a question of law at all. It is necessary, in order to support the claims of this officer, that I should read that authoritative interpretation in order to satisfy my noble friend of the great seriousness of this case. They reported that the word "entitled" which was in the clause "cannot be understood as referring to rights capable of being enforced in a Court of Justice," but they proceeded to explain the way in which in their opinion the guarantee should be carried out. They said "in any change of organisation the Crown should as no doubt the Company would have done"—making that comparison between the Company and the Crown," preserve all the rules as to pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise which existed at the time the Act was passed." Now, my Lords, I think I may fairly—having shown the condition of the matter, and the rights, as I conceive them to be of this officer under the Parliamentary guarantee—ask the noble Viscount, the Secretary of State, to produce in this House if he can any case of an officer who in the time of the East India Company has been treated in this way, or any case of a local officer who has been treated in this manner since the Government of India has been transferred from the Company to the Crown. I can answer for it that when I was in India when I had to deal, in communicating with Lord Napier of Magdala, with the compulsory retirement of a certain number of officers under the orders of State in 1872 in no case of this sort was an officer ever compulsorily retired. I am quite satisfied that my noble friend the Secretary of State for India has not any desire to do injustice in this matter, but as time goes on these Parliamentary guarantees become liable to be forgotten. I doubt whether in India at the present time there is any single Statesman, or officer, who has any recollection of the guarantees being given or of the details of the case; and I do not think there is any member of the Indian Council except my hon. friend Sir Henry Rawlinson who can have that knowledge which I myself happen to possess. I happened at the time to be connected with the India Office, and therefore, I have some knowledge of this rather intricate matter and if my noble friend is doubtful upon the case, if he thinks that at any rate I have brought forward a *prima facia* case to show that this officer has not been treated in accordance with the Parliamentary guarantee I would venture to suggest to him that he should take the same course as was taken by Sir Charles Wood in a similar case. I do not think it matters a straw as regards the duty of Parliament whether it is one officer or a hundred officers, if the Parliamentary guarantee has been given, it is as good to one man as it is to an entire army. And I would venture to suggest in justice to this officer that my noble friend should refer this case to such men as I could name who are thoroughly conversant with these matters. For instance my noble friend the Earl of Derby who was himself a member of one of these Commissions, or a gallant officer a friend of mine—Sir Thomas Peek—who was Military Secretary to the Council of India for many years, and I will name also Sir Martin Dyson, who was Military Secretary to Lord Napier of Magdala during the whole time he was in India. I think it would be only just and right if my noble friend on reconsideration of this case would refer this matter, which I take to be one of great importance, the maintenance of a Parliamentary guarantee, to a Commission composed of such members as I have named, in whose hands the case of Colonel Jackson would be quite safe. If he would make such a reference as that, Colonel Jackson would be quite satisfied and I can assure the noble lord that I should myself be quite content.

Lord CHELMSFORD: My lords, I have gone carefully over the papers connected with the case of Colonel Jackson, and I have come to the conclusion that that officer has been treated with very scant justice indeed, and that his military reputation is really at stake. I would venture to say I have myself only a slight personal acquaintance with Colonel Jackson, and during the twenty-six years I was in India Colonel Jackson was not named in any reports which obliged him to come before me. Therefore I come perfectly unprejudiced to the consideration of this question. I would ask your lordships' attention to two or three features connected with this unfortunate case. I would point out to your lordships that Colonel Jackson was appointed specially by the Commander-in-Chief in India to a regiment which was acknowledged to be in a bad state. This was the state that the regiment was described as being in in a letter of Sir Hugh Gough's—the very officer under whom Colonel Jackson first served directly

after Colonel Jackson was appointed to the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry. It says that he is much disappointed with the appearance and turn-out of the regiment; that there was a want of smartness, that they were dirty and slovenly, and that he was particularly dissatisfied with the troop horses; that he wished the Commander to select a picked officer, suggesting that Colonel Jackson should be appointed, and that he was very pleased Colonel Jackson had had the command given to him. My lords, I am not going into the history of the case. I merely wish to say that Colonel Jackson was not treated with that fairness which one ought to expect from the authorities in India, and I believe myself they have been entirely misled by the report of the Inspector-General of cavalry. On the arrival of the regiment under Sir Hugh Gough's command it was inspected almost immediately, and Sir Hugh Gough reported that the condition of the regiment was very good, and that they were steady on parade. Eleven days afterwards the Brigadier-General of cavalry, General Nutt, came to the station to inspect the cavalry there. I am well acquainted with General Nutt, and I suppose there is not a smarter or more efficient cavalry officer to be found. He belonged to the Inniskillen Dragoons, and has always borne a high reputation as a British cavalry officer, but he had no experience whatever of native cavalry regiments. Sir Hugh Gough who had inspected that regiment, and had himself made a report upon it, had the command of a Bengal cavalry regiment and he knew exactly what to make allowances for, and how to report upon it, which he did in those terms; but I suppose General Nutt looked upon it from the standpoint of a British cavalry officer, and judged by the standard of a British cavalry regiment; and Colonel Jackson, having had really only two or three months time to try and improve this regiment, naturally it did not turn out exactly in the way that General Nutt would have wished. The report of General Nutt says, "The riding of the regiment is decidedly bad." Now, Sir Hugh Gough had given an opinion directly opposite to that. He goes on, "then as to the turn-out there is a general want of smartness about the regiment." I will not trouble your lordships with long and elaborate extracts from these reports, but it shows the bias General Nutt had in making such report immediately he saw the regiment. However, Colonel Jackson after that report went on in command of the regiment under Sir Hugh Gough for about a year. On leaving the command there Sir Hugh Gough spoke to the regiment publicly on parade, and, after referring to their condition five months previously, expressed himself pleased to see the regiment in a condition so very different to that in which he saw it on joining it at Meanmeer. Surely the report of an officer of the standing of Sir Hugh Gough should be allowed to stand against that of an officer who, although a very smart and efficient officer of British cavalry, knew nothing whatever of a native regiment. Then the station passed under the command of Sir Charles Gough; but, unfortunately, this regiment—the 5th Bengal Cavalry—was the very regiment which he had himself commanded, and very naturally he would look with disgust at the change which had come over the regiment. But he reports of it in this way: He says, "that the 5th Bengal Cavalry is generally in a good state of drill and efficiency, the regiment drills steadily, and when well commanded will do well." Then he reports—I am bound to read this—"Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability but is a very average officer; he appears to be deficient in tact, temper, and judgment, and he does not appear to gain the confidence and esteem of the men." Then after that inspection took place in March, 1889, Colonel Jackson left the command and he never came back to the regiment. Sir Charles Gough never saw him again. About a year afterwards Sir Charles Gough was called upon to report regarding the regiment, and took the opportunity of reporting upon it in these terms: "Colonel Jackson is absent, and has been absent during the greater part of last year"—he had been absent in fact during the whole of it—"I attribute the vast improvement which has taken place in the 5th Bengal Cavalry greatly to the fact of his absence. I was asked to report upon it almost immediately after he had come under my command and before I had had time to get an intimate knowledge of Colonel Jackson from what I have seen of him since." Now I beg your lordships to observe that Sir Charles Gough had never seen him during that time. He had never been under Sir Charles Gough's command since the year before this report: "I feel sure his return to the regiment would be disastrous to it; he is utterly deficient in tact, temper, and judgment." That is what is stated a year after he had seen him for Sir Charles Gough had never seen him since the first report; and yet he says that he is somewhat deficient in tact, and in his manner of dealing with the men. Surely your lordships must see that a report of that sort going up to the Commander-in-Chief in India was likely to do Colonel Jackson the most terrible injury and to damage his reputation, and I venture to say that if that report had been brought to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council in India I am sure he would not have paid any attention to such a report as that General Nutt appears to have exercised a malign influence really upon these generals and to have twisted and distorted their views regarding Colonel Jackson into something totally distinct from what that officer really was. Then it comes up to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Commander-in-Chief having taken General Nutt's report and ignored altogether Sir Hugh Gough's favourable report, reports in 1888 that he considers the reports received were sufficient to require Colonel Jackson to retire, and that unless the regiment improved he would have to be removed from the command. A year after the Commander-in-Chief again reports upon the regiment, and says that the reports of the present year are again of an unfavourable nature. Now that was not exactly the case, Sir Charles Gough's report was not unfavourable; he distinctly stated to Colonel Jackson "the confidential report upon you is not altogether unfavourable" and yet this report says "they are again of an unfavourable nature." It shows that the inquiry into the conditions of this officer's qualities as a commanding officer have not really had fair play at all. Colonel Jackson had been reported upon as wanting in tact, judgment, and temper. That was principally based oupon Sir Charles Gough's and upon General Nutt's report, but there is a very curious correspondence which took place upon the matter. Colonel Jackson had an interview with General Nutt in the presence of Sir George Greaves, and the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay was called upon to report as to that interview which occurred during the Camp Exercises in 1888. General Greaves being requested to report upon what occurred, stated that the condition of the 5th Bengal Cavalry at the Camp Exercises, and particularly at Delhi in October, 1888, was spoken of; the horses were facing in different directions. "General Nutt found fault with Colonel Jackson for this, and his manner and voice were more harsh than is usual in the Service, especially as there were several junior officers present. Colonel Jackson's demeanour was calm and respectful, but it was evident to me there was ill-feeling between these two officers irrespective of the particular circumstances of the moment. On thinking the matter over since, I have come to the conclusion that Colonel Jackson had more reason to complain of the ground assigned to him for his camp than General Nutt had to complain of his use of it." I will not detain your lordships further upon this unfortunate case; but I would beg your lordships to remember that Colonel Jackson's reputation as a cavalry officer, which never had any wrong comment passed upon it before, is at stake. Colonel Jackson has on all sides received commendations and good reports from the different officers, different Viceroys, and general officers under whom he has served, and it seems to me this is a case in which a single officer has been able by twisting and distorting reports with regard to Colonel Jackson to do him a very serious injury in the estimation of the Governor-General in Council, and in that of the Commander-in-Chief in India. I trust the Secretary of State for India will see his way to rectify that injustice; and if it should be thought that for any reason Colonel Jackson should not be returned to his command of this regiment, at all events that he may be allowed to succeed to that to which he has every right in my opinion, namely his Colonel's allowances.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): My lords, I am afraid that injustice has been done to one officer by the noble and gallant lord who has just spoken, and that is General Nutt. Why there is any slur to be cast on General Nutt's character I do not know. The noble lord said at the outset of his remarks that nothing was to be said against General Nutt, that he was an able and excellent officer, and immediately following upon that he insinuated that General Nutt had a personal spite against Colonel Jackson.

LORD CHELMSFORD: I beg the noble viscount's pardon; I read from Sir George Greave's report which stated that.

VISCOUNT CROSS: Sir George Greave's report stated that. I am quite sure Colonel Jackson would never say anything of the kind himself. Turning to the question itself, I am sure your lordships will believe it is a matter of very great pain to me to be compelled to say anything against the conduct of an officer in the Indian service. But first, I would say one or two words about the Parliamentary guarantee. The noble earl who brought the matter forward stated that in no one case—and he quoted Lord Napier of Magdala as his authority—had any person been dismissed by the old East Indian Company unless after a trial by court martial. I have not had time to have the whole of the records searched, but I can assure the noble earl that upon that point he is entirely mistaken. There was a case which happened not long before the East India Company was dissolved, of an officer who had the command of a regiment which before that had been in very good order, but under his hands had got into disorder. There was no court martial held in that case at all, but he was dismissed by the East India Company.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Dismissed the service or removed from the command of his regiment?

VISCOUNT CROSS: He was removed from the command of his regiment and retired from the service on pension. There was another case where an officer was tried by Court Martial for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman; the Court Martial acquitted him, but the Court Directors having inquired into the whole case thought although he had been acquitted of the charges brought against him he was not a person who should be allowed to remain in the service, and he was treated in a similar way. I have shown your lordships two instances, and I am assured there are many more, but I have not had time to look into the records of what was done by the East India Company. What was then done was that an officer was put upon an extraordinary or invalid list, which practically was the same thing as putting him on pension. Now let me come to the Parliamentary guarantee which rests as the noble earl says entirely upon Mr. Henly's clause, that clause being put into the Act which made over the Government of India to the Crown. The noble earl says I am not to look upon it in a legal point of view, but at all events I am entitled to look upon it in a legal point of view to see what the meaning of the Act of Parliament was. It so happens that this very question has been tried in a Court of Law, and I do not quite see why the noble earl does not wish me to refer to it. There was one officer of the local force who was dismissed. He was an officer in the East India Company's military service and subsequently continued in the Indian Army when the Indian military and naval services were transferred to the Crown. He brought an action against the Secretary of State for India, as representing the Crown, for damages for having been placed on the Pension List, and so compelled to retire from the Army. That action was tried before Mr. Justice Grove, and I think it is right we should see what was decided in that case so that we can see what is the legal meaning of this Parliamentary guarantee. It was contended by the plaintiff that the East India Company had by contract, expressed or implied, with its military officers, including the plaintiff, waived its right to dismiss them, and that the plaintiff retained his rights under such contract against the Secretary of State for India, representing the Crown. That was argued at very great length, and the learned judge says that this power of removal exists in the Crown for the benefit of the Empire and for the benefit of Her Majesty's subjects, and could not be contracted away: otherwise any officer whom a jury might have considered physically and mentally deficient might retain his place in the army notwithstanding he was found unsuitable for the performance of his duties. Then the learned judge proceeds to discuss this Henly clause on which the noble earl relied, and he says the contract must be taken to refer to the existing laws and customs and regulations, subject to the military regulations, and not overriding the power of dismissal or removal. Then with regard to section 56, the enactment on which the noble earl relies, he says that does not seem to alter this view, but strengthens it by saying that all the forces should be subject to all regulations relating to the East India Company's forces as if they had

throughout been Acts relating to the forces of the Crown instead of the forces of the Company. So far as the legal right goes that case makes it absolutely clear that the power does exist in the Crown and that under the advice of the Secretary of State the Crown can remove any officer notwithstanding the Henly clause, which was introduced no doubt for the purpose which the noble earl stated. This question was discussed, as the noble earl has said, in 1869, 1870, and 1871; and in 1872, when the noble earl himself was Governor-General of India, a Minute was issued stating that unemployed officers who are ineligible for public employment by reason of clear misconduct or proved inefficiency, or have been removed for that reason, or who by misconduct have rendered themselves ineligible for regimental employment "will be called upon to send in their resignation"—that they will be called upon to retire, and if they fail to do so they will be removed or put upon the pension list. That was the noble earl's own Minute when in office in India. Now other Secretaries of State have had this matter before them. The Duke of Argyle in the year 1872 is discussing this question, and he writes in this way to the Governor-General: "You are authorised therefore at once to call upon all officers who are pronounced by your Government ineligible for public employment by reason either of fear, misconduct, or proved inefficiency" or who, in the words of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, "have been removed from their appointments for inefficiency or who have by misconduct, &c., rendered themselves ineligible, and who may be called upon to send in their resignations under the regulations; intimating to them that should they fail to do so within a definite and short time they will be removed to the pension list." That was the case in 1872 in a despatch written to the Governor-General of India. It goes on to say, that to prevent the growth in future of a military burden rendered possible by the peculiar regulations of the Indian service, an officer may, generally speaking, become unemployed, or may be removed for unfitness or inefficiency in his particular office or department.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I think the noble lord is not quite correct. I read that despatch, and there is no intimation in it that any officer, removed from an appointment because he was not fit for that appointment should be compulsorily retired; it was evidently contemplated he should be employed in some other appointment.

VISCOUNT CROSS: The way in which he speaks of it in this despatch is very remarkable. He says, "they are to send in their application to retire upon such pension as they may be entitled to under the regulations intimating to them that, should they fail to do so they will be removed."

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I am sorry to interrupt the noble viscount, but as this happened when I was in India I may be allowed to explain that that general order was only temporary, and applied to a certain number of officers. This officer has not been removed from the command of his regiment; he has not been given his three months, and that general order has thereby lapsed.

VISCOUNT CROSS: The reason I quote this general order is this: officers were all under the same Parliamentary guarantee as Colonel Jackson claims to be under; and those particular officers who were placed on the pension list were under that guarantee.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I can only say that if my noble friend can produce to me one single case of an officer who was retired under that order I will admit his argument, not otherwise.

VISCOUNT CROSS: That is the order. What may have been done under it I cannot tell.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The records must be in the office.

VISCOUNT CROSS: The noble lord has read this despatch, and he has quoted the opinion of Lord Napier, but there is one sentence in it which I would like to call your lordships' attention to; "His Excellency refers to the practice of the Court of Directors of the late East India Company and expressed doubts as to the policy of placing officers on the retired list who have been unemployed through no fault of their own." Then he observes that "those officers who have been removed from their appointment from inefficiency by their distinct or undeniable misconduct have rendered themselves ineligible for regimental command cannot justly complain if they are not allowed to succeed to colonels' allowances." That is clearly the case with Colonel Jackson if he was removed from inefficiency in spite of the so-called Parliamentary guarantee, in the opinion of Lord Napier he could not complain that he is deprived of colonel's allowances. That is only one despatch of a number which I have here. There was a despatch written by the noble marquis opposite, the Marquess of Ripon in 1894, when he was Governor-General addressed to the noble lord (the Earl of Kimberley) stating that "Colonel Hardinge recommends that in cases where disabilities of an insurmountable nature such as want of nerve or judgment sufficient to exclude an officer from the command of his regiment, a special report is to be made to the Commander-in-Chief stating the reasons for withholding the command from such officer," but goes on to say that "the State has a right to expect from officers a high standard of efficiency considering the liberal terms on which they are serving." In that I entirely agree that you have a right to expect from officers not a moderate but a high standard of efficiency. I have here several cases of officers who were removed for inefficiency when not in command, but when second in command, and who were removed for this reason, that if anything happened they would be called upon to assume the command of their regiments, for which they were not fitted. Therefore it has been applied to officers second in command. I have also a despatch from Lord Randolph Churchill, when Secretary of State, to the same effect, and concluding with the remarks to the Governor-General of India that if he finds any officer inefficient and not able to perform his duty to the satisfaction of his superiors, he may rely upon him in dismissing that officer. I think I have shown, at all events, as far as the Parliamentary guarantee goes there is no case for Colonel Jackson. Great caution I quite admit is necessary, and I quite admit that officers should not be dismissed rashly because the power exists; but all I have been urging is that the power does exist, and that the Government had a right to remove Colonel Jackson if he proved to be inefficient. Leaving that part of the case, I will come to the question whether he was efficient or not. I am bound to say that if ever my character has to be defended, I hope it will not be defended by my noble and gallant friend who sits behind me (Lord Chelmsford), for I certainly thought he made a very weak defence. No doubt Colonel Jackson had not been in command of the regiment for some time. He had been on the staff. There is no doubt he was a good officer, or was believed to be so, and was appointed to this regiment to bring it into order. The noble earl and my noble and gallant friend behind me have both quoted extensively from a Report of Sir Hugh Gough. There are sentences in that report which undoubtedly say Colonel Jackson was a moderate officer, but if my noble friend had only taken the trouble to read that report through they would have seen an enormous number of faults that Sir Hugh Gough finds in that report. But I do not think that report ought to have been quoted, if I may say so in all humility to your lordships, without going on to state what happened in reference to it afterwards. There was a letter which was sent to Colonel Jackson; it is not a report on the regiment made to the military authorities in India. It was sent after the Cavalry Inspector had come, and then the real report was made by Sir Hugh Gough. Now I will read what Sir Hugh Gough said when he made his report not to Colonel Jackson, but to the military authorities. "Colonel Jackson is reported by the Inspector-General of Cavalry as a failure. He failed to bring his regiment into a state of efficiency, an opinion in which I concur. He is considered to have neither tact, judgment, nor qualifications, and I regret not being able to make a satisfactory report on his regiment." That is, a month or two after he had written the report to Colonel Jackson, and all I can say is that I think both those reports should have been placed before your lordships at the same time. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were very much struck with the difference between those reports, and they called for an explanation of how it came to pass that he should have told Colonel Jackson one thing and should have formally reported to his superior something else; and then Sir Hugh Gough says—I am bound to say I think it is rather a lame explanation—that he thought the regiment wanted encouraging, that there were some good points about it, and he thought that when he wrote to Colonel Jackson he would say all he possibly could in its favour, although he had not practically come to that conclusion himself. But now I come to the reports of the Inspector-General of Cavalry, General Nutt, because they really do bear upon this case very much. In March, 1888, the Inspector-General of Cavalry goes to inspect this particular regiment, and what does he say? He says: "As a leader Colonel Jackson is wanting in dash, and unable to apply quickly his knowledge of drill, which is limited to the circumstances of the moment. I recommend his removal from the command at the end of the year unless a very marked improvement takes place in the meantime." You cannot, I think, have a stronger report against a man than that, saying he is unfit for his command, and recommending his removal the next year unless a different state of things should take place in the interval. Then, what happens in March, 1889? Sir Charles Gough goes to inspect the regiment, for it had then changed its position, and was under Sir Charles Gough He says: "Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability as a commanding officer: he is somewhat deficient in manner, tact, in dealing with the men, and does not appear to gain their confidence and esteem." Now comes the Inspector-General of Cavalry again; and in March, 1889, the same month of the same year, what he says is: "In my opinion Colonel Jackson is not fit to command a regiment. I have no reason to alter the opinion I formed of him last year. His ignorance of drill on many occasions was most marked. I fear the regiment will never improve while under his command. They work well while under their squadron commanders and junior officers." Can you have a worse report than that of any officer? He says this officer is unfit for the command; that the men work well enough while under their squadron commanders who do know their work, but that they do not work well when he comes to the front. Surely you could not have a worse report than that. Then the Commander-in-Chief is consulted, and he quotes this report and says: "I have no option but to report my opinion that Colonel Jackson should not be permitted to remain in command," and he goes on to give further reasons; he says—"I know this regiment myself; I saw it twice last winter, first at Delhi and then at Lucknow;" and then he goes on to tell you his opinion of what the condition of the regiment is, and to say that he was not favourably impressed by it. First, then, you have the report of the Inspector-General of Cavalry, and you have not one single word in Colonel Jackson's favour to balance the arguments used against the reports of the Inspector-General of Cavalry and the Commander-in-Chief. But in 1890 Sir Charles Gough goes to this regiment again, and although the words used by him were read by my noble and gallant friend [Lord Chelmsford] I do not think he read them quite to the point. Colonel Jackson had gone away. What had become of the regiment in the meantime? Was it in the same state as when he left it? How was it found by Sir Charles Gough in 1890? What he says is, "Colonel Jackson has been absent during the greatest part of last year, and I attribute the great improvement that has taken place in the regiment to his absence. I was asked to report upon him before I had time to get an intimate knowledge of him, and from what I see, and the improved state of the regiment since he left I feel certain that his return to the command would be disastrous to the regiment. He is thoroughly deficient in tact, temper, and judgment." And yet the noble earl wishes me to say in the face of the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, not only from these reports, but from his own knowledge of the regiment, and when I am told that Colonel Jackson's return to the regiment will be disastrous to it, that I am prepared to step in at this stage and put down the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General in Council, and say that this man ought to be reinstated. I think that would be a very strong measure for me to take. I doubt whether my noble friend opposite when Secretary of State or any other Secretary of State would take the responsibility of sending a man back to the command of his regiment after receiving these reports. Then my noble friend says no care has been taken to sift Colonel Jackson's case since he came home. I venture to say that no case has ever received more consideration. The noble earl says it might be referred to three persons whom he named; but this matter has already been most seriously considered.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I referred to the question of his rights under the Parliamentary guarantee.

VISCOUNT CROSS: I thought the noble earl meant as to Colonel Jackson's conduct. I am speaking now of his conduct. This matter has been referred to three of probably the very best men you could put your finger upon for the purpose, members of my Council, Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Frederick Lumsden, and Sir Donald Stewart. I think you could not find an officer in the whole Indian Army who knows more about such matters than Sir Donald Stewart. These officers all came to the absolute conclusion that it was utterly impossible that this man should be allowed to remain in command of his regiment. In the face of that does my noble friend really think that a Secretary of State would step in and say this officer should be returned to his command? My lords, that is the case I have to lay before you. My noble friend said when Colonel Jackson got home he was astonished to find he was to retire. Well he must be a most extraordinary man if he was astonished when he got home, because he did not leave India until towards the end of 1889 and when he was in India he had received a letter from the Adjutant General dated the 10th of May 1889 and marked "Urgent" in which he is told that owing to the unfavourable reports made upon him at the inspection of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, it would not be possible for the Commander-in-Chief to allow him to continue in command of the regiment. He knew that; he had it from the Adjutant-General himself in May 1889 and he could not therefore have been astonished at it when he got to England in 1890.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The noble viscount must have misunderstood me in a very odd way. What I said was when he came back without having received any intimation from the Adjutant-General he was exceedingly surprised at receiving this intimation that he would be expected to retire.

VISCOUNT CROSS: I will come to that part of the case presently. Clearly he had had warning enough. He was told in May, 1889, he could not remain in command of the regiment. My noble friend says now that he went away under the impression that General Roberts would give him another examination. I will read the words of the letter, "General Roberts said he would be willing if possible to stretch a point and allow you to have another examination." Not that he was in his own right, but that General Roberts was willing to do it out of kindness to Colonel Jackson. When Colonel Jackson called upon the Commander-in-Chief at Simla he was told that every consideration had been given to his case; but he was told that although the Commander-in-Chief's opinion of his unfitness for the command remained unchanged, it would be better for him to defer leaving the country until his case was settled. He was told that it would be better in his own interest that he should postpone his departure for England until he should have undergone another examination which the Commander-in-Chief was willing to grant him out of kindness. That is precisely what the Commander-in-Chief told him, but in spite of that advice he left the country, and I do not know how he could have been astonished afterwards when he came to England to find that he was asked to take this course. There is a considerable gap in the correspondence, but before I finish I may say a letter was written to him privately. It was thought better that a private letter should be sent, so as not to hurt his feelings, telling him that he might retire. The reason there had been delay was this: in consequence of the interest which I knew the noble earl took in this matter, I was quite determined that Colonel Jackson's case should be reconsidered in India if possible, and therefore I went out of my way to communicate with the Viceroy, begging him to look into the case and see if he could not find any loophole in Colonel Jackson's favour. The answer I received was there was not another word to be said, and that there could not be; that the Viceroy had looked into the whole case himself and was satisfied that justice had been done. What more can be done in the face of these reports? If my Commander-in-Chief and military advisers, after the satisfactory consideration which they had given to the case at my instance, and when the Viceroy says there is nothing for it but that the man must be dismissed what could the Secretary of State do but this? There is one point more to which I will refer, and I cannot help thinking that this is at the bottom of Colonel Jackson's feeling in the matter—and I feel it, too—that is that he should be deprived of his Colonel's allowances. That is the point which Lord Napier alluded to when he said that if a man is removed for inefficiency—these are Lord Napier's own words: "It is no hardship upon him that he should lose his Colonel's allowances." Just let me point out in order that Colonel Jackson should gain his Colonel's allowances the alternative I should be put to. This man cannot go back to his regiment. He would receive full pay for six years from the revenues of India in order that at the end of that time he should receive his Colonel's allowances. Do your lordships think I could stand up in this House, or that anyone representing the Government of India could stand up in the other House of Parliament and defend such a course? I could not do so. My lords I have to apologise for having taken up some time in explaining this matter fully to the House, but I hope your lordships will be content with my explanation.

The EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I beg to move for the regulations mentioned in my notice.

VISCOUNT CROSS: I quite forgot to say there are no regulations, and therefore I cannot give them. The only regulations are the statutes which refer to the East India Company. Those are statutes which transfer these powers to the Crown; but there are no regulations; had there been they should at once be placed on the table.

LORD NORTHBROOK: Am I to understand from the noble viscount that there are no regulations stating on what grounds an officer may be removed from his command to the pension list? If so, it is a state of things which leaves the reputation of almost any officer in the power of the Commander-in-Chief in India, because the noble viscount's explanation is simply repeating what the Commander-in-Chief in India has said, and there can be no remedy for any injustice which may be done by the Commander-in-Chief in India. I will not trouble your lordships with an elaborate answer in regard to the course which has been taken in this case of Colonel Jackson. I will simply say that every single point which has been made by the noble viscount has been most carefully considered by me, and I can say that the noble viscount has omitted to state whatever was in favour of Colonel Jackson, and has stated with great ability, and with all the authority which his position enables him to exercise, everything which can possibly be said against that officer. But I will prove to your lordships in one moment how very cursorily and carelessly the attention of the noble viscount must have been called to this case. The noble viscount gave several reports which were damaging to Colonel Jackson. He seemed to think it was a right thing for an officer commanding a division to state that subsequent experience had led him to a conclusion when he had no subsequent experience at all; he thought it was right that a Commander-in-Chief should make a statement of that kind, without examination, to the Governor General in India, in order that he might deal with an officer upon such a report as that; and the noble viscount laid great stress upon a minute of the Commander-in-Chief himself, in which he said he could personally testify to the condition of the regiment, for he had seen it twice, once at Delhi and once at Lucknow. Will your lordships believe me when I say that that statement was entirely inaccurate, that the Commander-in-Chief had not seen the regiment twice, and that if the Governor General in India relied upon that statement, he relied upon a statement which was contrary to the fact? Colonel Jackson in his memorial put that before the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State considered it such a trifle for the Commander-in-Chief in India to send an inaccurate report to the Governor General that he has not even taken the trouble to find out that it was inaccurate. I can assure your lordships I have taken great pains in going into this case, and it is only one of the many extraordinary circumstances which show the manner in which officers are treated in India at the present time if Colonel Jackson's case is at all a specimen of the way in which business is done in the Adjutant General's office in India. I would take the sense of the House upon the matter, but as there are no papers it is impossible for me to divide.

The subject then dropped.

KYANG KHENG.

LORD LAMINGTON asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government had yet decided upon recognising the State of Kyang Kheng as tributary to the Burmese Shan State of Kyang Tung.

VISCOUNT CROSS: My lords, there is no doubt this is a very important question, and I am very glad the noble lord has brought the matter forward. The Government of India are at present considering the matter; they have agents there looking into it, but they have not yet had an opportunity of considering their report. I hope to be able next session to give a better answer upon the subject.

The EARL of KIMBERLEY: I would ask the noble viscount whether the Commissioners are making progress in settling the boundaries with the Siamese Government.

VISCOUNT CROSS: Yes; I believe they are making rapid progress.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. July 27.

EAST INDIA ACCOUNTS.

SIR DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): On behalf of my hon. friend, the member for West Edinburgh, I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India when the explanatory memorandum of the East India Accounts will be calculated?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir John Gorst, Chatham): I laid the explanatory memorandum upon the Table last night, and it will be distributed among members immediately.

NORTH-WEST INDIAN FRONTIER EXPENDITURE.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India a question of which I have given him private notice; if he can now state whether the India Office will grant the return on the paper relating to expenditure incurred since 1882 beyond the North-West frontier of India; or what information on the subject can be supplied if not in the precise form suggested by the return then in some other form calculated to bring out the salient facts of the case.

Sir JOHN GORST: The Secretary of State is not in possession of information which would enable him to give the return asked for, nor can he say without communication with India how far it is possible to procure the information desired, but he will during the recess see what information can be obtained from India, and if the hon. member will move next Session all details compatible with the public interest shall be given.

FAMINE IN THE NORTH WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA.

Dr. TANNER (Cork, Mid.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if there is any foundation for the report from Bombay that a famine is regarded as inevitable in the North West Provinces in consequence of inadequate rainfall; and, if so, what steps are being taken or will be taken for the relief of distress.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The best answer I can give to the hon. member is to read the following telegram which was received from the Viceroy to-day, and which contains the latest information upon the subject. It is dated the 28th of July, 1891, and is from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State. "There is an improvement in agricultural prospects and development of monsoon season. There has been good general rainfall throughout the country except of Madras, Carnatic, and Upper Burma, in consequence of which there is no present cause for anxiety in Northern India. Strong monsoon blowing West Coast. More rain imminent in Punjab and Rajputana, where fodder famine has been arrested by rain. Crop operations in Northern India generally progressing satisfactorily, and there is no present cause for anxiety in the North West Provinces and Oudh. Rain fell last week in Coimbatore region, slightly improving the condition of affected districts, but has ceased. With development of monsoon in Northern India, locust plague abating. In Northern India prices abating

(*Continued on page* 244.)

INDIAN HOME (*i.e.*, BRITISH) CHARGES.

HOW THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-TWO MILLIONS OF RUPEES ANNUALLY REMITTED FROM INDIA ARE SPENT.

The following is an analysis of the net Expenditure in England charged on the Revenues of the year, with the Exchange added:—

NET EXPENDITURE.	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.			Budget, 1891-92.		
	Sterling.	Exchange.	Equivalent of Sterling Payments.	Sterling.	Exchange.	Equivalent of Sterling Payments.
	£	Rx.	Rx.	£	Rx.	Rx.
Interest and Management of Debt (excluding Interest charged in Railway Revenue Account) ..	2,390,400	776,900	3,167,300	2,420,000	947,000	3,367,000
Railway Revenue Account	5,701,400	1,853,000	7,554,400	5,689,800	2,226,400	7,916,200
Civil Administration:						
Payments on Account of Departments in India, passage, outfit, etc.	18,500	6,000	24,500	19,300	7,600	26,900
Postal Subsidy	45,000	14,600	59,600	59,900	23,400	83,300
Telegraph: Red Sea Company's Annuity ..	18,000	5,900	23,900	18,000	7,000	25,000
,, Indo-European	9,300	3,000	12,300	3,100	1,200	4,300
Public Works: Civil Engineering College ..	—	—	—	1,300	500	1,800
,, Other Charges	7,000	2,300	9,300	6,500	2,500	9,000
Marine: Her Majesty's ships in Indian Seas ..	37,500	12,200	49,700	51,000	20,000	71,000
,, Indian Government Defence Vessels ..	5,000	1,600	6,600	60,000	23,500	83,500
,, Other Charges	1,800	600	2,400	1,500	600	2,100
Civil Service: Allowances to Candidates, Examinations, etc.	19,800	6,400	26,200	18,900	7,400	26,300
Lunatics: Maintenance	4,100	1,300	5,400	5,100	2,000	7,100
,, Sale of Ealing Asylum Estate ..	—31,000	—10,100	—41,100	—	—	—
Political charges: Persian Mission	10,000	3,300	13,300	7,000	2,700	9,700
,, Diplomatic and Consular Establishments in China ..	12,500	4,100	16,600	12,500	4,900	17,400
,, Pensions territorial and political	46,300	15,000	61,300	22,400	8,800	31,200
,, Other Charges	1,800	600	2,400	2,500	1,000	3,500
India Office: Salaries of Establishment	134,200	43,600	177,800	135,400	53,000	188,400
,, Auditor's Department	6,600	2,100	8,700	6,700	2,600	9,300
,, Store Department	24,900	8,100	33,000	24,400	9,600	34,000
,, Stationery, postage, telegrams, and other charges	21,900	7,100	29,000	22,600	8,800	31,400
Army: Effective: Home Charges of British Forces serving in India	787,000	255,800	1,042,800	735,000	287,600	1,022,600
,, ,, Troop Service and Transport ..	221,300	71,900	293,200	251,700	98,500	350,200
,, ,, Other Charges	19,000	6,200	25,200	19,000	7,400	26,400
Stores: Civil and Public Works	210,500	68,400	278,900	159,200	62,300	221,500
,, Telegraph	87,000	28,300	115,300	78,300	30,600	108,900
,, Marine	72,600	23,600	96,200	59,600	23,300	82,900
,, Military	1,143,600	371,700	1,515,300	1,339,300	524,100	1,863,400
,, Special Defence Works (including Establishment in 1889-90)	196,200	63,800	260,000	379,000	148,300	527,300
,, Miscellaneous Charges	2,500	800	3,300	8,900	3,500	12,400
Furlough: Civil and Marine	176,000	57,200	233,200	209,000	81,800	290,800
,, Military	286,000	93,000	379,000	295,000	115,400	410,400
,, Telegraph	5,100	1,700	6,800	4,900	1,900	6,800
,, Public Works	47,000	15,300	62,300	58,000	22,700	80,700
None-Effective Charges: Civil and Marine ..	971,100	315,600	1,286,700	1,004,300	393,000	1,397,300
,, ,, Military	2,703,100	878,600	3,581,700	2,770,400	1,084,100	3,854,500
Total	15,413,000	5,009,500	20,422,500	15,959,500	6,245,000	22,204,500

There is an increase in the Budget of 1891-92, as compared with 1889-90, of £113,630 under Interest and Management of Debt, of £80,676 on Railway Revenue Account, of £60,000 as a subsidy to the Admiralty for manning and maintaining the Indian Government Defence Vessels, of £57,105 for Troop Service and Transport, of £1,019,131 on Stores for the Army and for Special Defence Works, of £208,620 for Non-Effective charges, and of £30,413 on all other accounts, except the Home Charges for British Forces serving in India, in which there is a reduction of £123,230, large arrears having been discharged in 1889-90. There is, therefore, a net increase of £1,446,345 in the sterling payments, but there is a reduction of Rx. 267,767 in the charge for Exchange.

The Expenditure in England not charged on the Revenues of the year, according to the Accounts and Estimates, is as follows:—

EXPENDITURE.	Revised Estimate, 1890-91.			Budget, 1891-92.		
	Sterling.	Exchange.	Equivalent of Sterling Payments.	Sterling.	Exchange.	Equivalent of Sterling Payments.
	£	Rx.	Rx.	£	Rx.	Rx.
Capital outlay on construction of State Railways ..	1,106,200	359,500	1,465,700	1,192,000	466,400	1,658,400
,, ,, on Irrigation Works	7,000	2,300	9,300	4,400	1,700	6,100
Total	1,113,200	361,800	1,475,000	1,196,400	468,100	1,664,500

The above particulars are, when looked at in the light of other facts connected with India, of appalling significance. In the same official paper as that from which the details quoted are obtained is a table which deals with the burden of taxation. Land Revenue, which is really a tax, and is not a rent in the sense in which the term is understood in this country, is excluded from the record of taxation. That record is as follows:—

Object.	Rs.
Salt	83,440,000
Stamps	41,480,000
Excise	49,540,000
Provincial Rates	35,310,000
Customs	17,010,000
Assessed Taxes	16,100,000
Registration	3,700,000
Total	Rs. 246,658,000

According to the census recently taken the population of British India is 220,491,000. The amount spent in England from revenue and on capital account comes to Rs. 236,690,000, or ONE RUPEE AND NEARLY ONE ANNA PER HEAD. Put in other words,

THE WHOLE OF THE REVENUE RAISED IN INDIA BY TAXATION (WITH A SLIGHT EXCEPTION) IS ANNUALLY EXPENDED IN ENGLAND.

Such a burden, such a withdrawal of money from one country to be spent in another, is, in the circumstances of the people of India, incompatible with the prosperity of India. India cannot become prosperous while such a state of things continues. So far as can be seen nothing is being done to minimise the mischief, but, on the contrary, great efforts are being made to increase it. Unfortunate and unhappy India!

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INDIA.
AUGUST 28, 1891.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN REFORM.

"A RIDICULOUS AND EXASPERATING POLICY."

The most important portion of the Indian Budget debate, a debate the report of which occupies many pages of this issue, is to be found, not in the long-drawn-out proceedings of the Budget night itself, but in some remarks made by Sir John Gorst the evening after when challenged by the hon. member for Crewe. The observations of the Under Secretary were of so surprising a nature that Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., in characterising them as descriptive of "a ridiculous and exasperating policy," was well within the mark. Before, however, dealing with a speech as injudicious and as foolish as was that from the same mouth which had the beheading of tall poppies as its chief illustration, a few remarks may be made on at least one incident in the Budget debate itself. It had been known for some time that Mr. S. Smith, M.P., intended making the discussions prior to the exposition of the Budget notable by initiating a debate and taking a vote which would enable him to advance the recognition of the elective principle in any Government Councils' Reform Bill. Although Mr. Smith obtained the second and not the first place, the probability of his succeeding was very great as Mr. Provand, who had precedence, forbore dividing. Most calamitously Mr. Smith allowed himself to be "drawn," by some observations of Mr. Buchanan, into a short speech. His remarks were almost entirely of an explanatory character. Nevertheless the Speaker, when, later, Mr. Smith wished to make his speech and move the motion of which he had given notice, ruled the right hon. gentleman out of order as having spoken already. Mr. Speaker Peel was far from generous even if he were scrupulously fair in his treatment of Mr. Smith. No doubt it is not the business of the Speaker to teach members the rules of the assembly, nor, in this particular instance, did Mr. Smith need any teaching. He was fully aware of his right to speak once only in debate, and did not regard a few sentences of explanation as a speech. The Speaker admitted he heard the hon. member make reference to his motion soon to be moved, but, apparently, he did not consider he owed it to a member of such standing and influence in the House as Mr. Smith to remind him, in a word or two, that a speech at that juncture would effectually dispose of his motion. A word of caution would have caused Mr. Smith at once to resume his seat. Explanation on a misunderstood point might be needed; the discussion of an important constitutional reform was vastly more to be considered. Mr. Peel's too straightened and narrow notions of his duty, combined with Mr. Smith's momentary forgetfulness, has led to what would have been a distinct advance of the Indian national cause being forgone. The lost debate and division are occasions for regret. But, after all, the check is only momentary, and will not serve to prevent the progress and early success of the movement. The other matters which were the subject of discussion will be found fully reported. Except in regard to the valuable speeches made by Mr. Smith and Mr. Seymour Keay on the economic condition of India after the Budget statement, nothing need be said here. In an early issue we may return to some of the topics dealt with in those speeches.

Sir John Gorst, on the report stage of the Indian Financial Resolution, made a humiliating confession. He acknowledged, in piteous tones and in a pitiable fashion, that the handful of hon. members who try to safeguard Indian Congress interests in the House of Commons are more powerful than the India Office and the Government. These last-mentioned parties are anxious to grant India a number of so-called reforms. For three sessions—the hon. gentleman says, exaggerating fifty per cent. in the assertion—the Government have been desirous of proceeding, but their way was barred. Surely, since "the dauntless three" Roman citizens kept the bridge against the Tuscan array and saved the imperial city such a sight has not been seen! A mere handful of men hold great hosts at bay! It seems that these friends of India are desirous that, on any occasion when reform is proposed, careful consideration should discover whether what is put forward suffices for the situation. Surely, there is nothing wrong in this. On the contrary, these dreadful obstructionists, before whom the undaunted Cross and the intrepid Gorst stand aghast, are merely fulfilling the most rudimentary functions appertaining to their duties as members of Parliament. India, according to the Tory Under Secretary's idea, is to accept whatever Her Majesty's Ministers choose to propose without adequate examination as to the suitability of the remedy for the disease. In advancing such an argument Sir John Gorst was talking even more foolishly than even in the Manipur debate. He was extremely silly, or he is a gentleman easily frightened. It is hard to know how to treat Sir John Gorst. If he was sincere in what he urged, then are he and his colleagues the most pusillanimous of Parliamentarians. There has not been a session since the reform was first projected wherein the Government, had it cared anything for India, could not have carried the measure. A week's time of the House would, doubtless, have been required. Mr. McLaren said two days, but herein he underestimated the points which would have been raised and dealt with. By a careful arrangement of their time and business the Government could easily have found the time required. It is not, therefore, honest for Sir John Gorst to say that the fault of the measure having been lost rests with the Congress party. He and his colleagues are alone to blame, and if calamity comes upon India, as come it may, because of the indifference shown by the present Government to Indian affairs, the public will have no difficulty in fixing responsibility upon the right shoulders. If, on the other hand, Sir John Gorst was not sincere in what he said, but only, under the stress of oratorical necessity, used the argument which seemed most likely to serve the purposes of the moment, then indeed does he deserve the strong

language used of him and of his chief by the hon. member for North Manchester. What Mr. Schwann thinks of the pitiful plea of necessity will be found in another column. As a matter of fact, the present Under Secretary, in this respect faithfully representing the department he serves, and his noble friend, the Secretary of State, has no heart in the business and has no care, in these particular matters, to do India justice. Even the ambition which, a year and a-half ago, Viscount Cross declared he cherished—that of making his Secretaryship notable for its reforming efforts, has vanished. The best interests of India are neglected, and the Empire is allowed to slip, unheeded, into a position of serious peril.

THE LIBERAL LEADERS AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS BILL.

In the course of his reply to Mr. McLaren's enquiries about the Indian Councils Bill, Sir John Gorst declared that the Bill was withdrawn at the special desire of the Liberal leaders. This, in face of the facts, is a strange saying. Those facts comprise these important circumstances. Throughout the session the Congress cause was championed in the House of Commons by Mr. Bryce, M.P., an ex-official, a front-bench man. Mr. Bryce was aware that he was sustained by the great Leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Gladstone, who, fourteen months ago, informed Mr. Bradlaugh that he was in favour of the introduction of the elective principle into any Indian Councils Reform Bill. This view was shared by Mr. Gladstone's chief colleagues. More than that: the sign-manual of the party was put upon the proposal in the issue, in January last, of a whip by Mr. Arnold Morley, M.P., in favour of the late Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill. We say, and we say it with authority, the Liberal party, through its leaders and through those who have a right to speak and act on its behalf, were and are in favour of some such change in Indian administration as that which the Congress reform would ensure. How, then, has it come about that such an assertion could be made by Sir John Gorst? Our first thought was that the remark had a merely formal value, that when Mr. Smith said, early in July, India's Bill must go, the Liberal leaders replied: "If you will not give us time to properly discuss it, then let it go." Mr. Schwann, however, in his letter to the *Daily News*, gives the incident another complexion. According to his surmise, everything depends upon what is meant by the term, "Liberal leaders," employed by Sir John Gorst. If the term takes in an ex-Under Secretary of State for India of a few months' standing, then, Mr. Schwann appears to think there may be something in it. The hon. gentleman vigorously remarks: "As is well known, some few of the official Liberals—I will not call them leaders—are quite as timorous and nearly as Conservative as the ordinary official Tory, but I doubt whether they will be allowed much 'show' in the next Liberal Ministry if the Radical element is to count for anything." Probably, if Sir John Gorst's remark were sifted to its real foundation, it would be found that the sole ground for the Under Secretary's remark respecting the Liberal leaders referred merely to a conversation he had with an ex-Under Secretary who, on the legislation in question, is more than timorous, while his great leader is bold. That great leader, too, as circumstances of irresistible strength make apparent, gave the gentleman alluded to no authority to speak on behalf of the Party. It is, consequently, undeniably clear that the assertion which has, naturally, angered Mr. Schwann, and appears to commit the Opposition to a policy of shilly-shally, has no foundation in fact. The last word spoken on the Bill was uttered by Mr. Bryce on June 16th, when the order was discharged and the Bill was withdrawn. The remarks we shall immediately quote show that there is no ground for the assertion that the Liberal leaders desired the withdrawal of the Bill except by investing with honours of leadership those who do not possess any rights of authority. Mr. Bryce said: "I much regret that the Government purpose to withdraw this Bill." Note the expression of regret, which is most emphatically asserted. He continued: "It is a Bill of considerable value, though we do not regard it as completely satisfactory, and it certainly would require some little time for discussion—perhaps three or four hours. But after that I think there would be every disposition to further the progress of the Bill. The desire which I know the Secretary of State has to further this matter is fully reciprocated in this House, and I believe also the present Viceroy is anxious to have the opportunity of introducing those reforms which this Bill would enable him to introduce. Under the circumstances it is impossible, I suppose, to ask the Government to reconsider their determination, but what we can ask is that they will give the Bill a better chance next year by introducing it at the beginning of the Session, and giving us a reasonable time to discuss it. If that is done, I believe there is a general disposition on this side of the House to assist in passing this measure of reform." These observations should set the question at rest once for all.

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND INDIAN REFORM.

Once more an earnest effort is to be made to secure the co-operation of the Liberal Party by an expression of opinion at the meetings of the National Liberal Federation in Newcastle-on-Tyne, five weeks hence. The various Associations are being communicated with in a letter which runs thus:—

BRITISH COMMITTEE
OF THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:
25, Craven Street, Charing Cross,
LONDON.

BRITISH COMMITTEE:
Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Bart., Chairman.
W. C. Bonnerjee. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P.
W. S. Caine. C. E. Schwann, M.P.
A. O. Hume, C.B. Dadabhai Naoroji.
J. E. Ellis, M.P. George Yule.
Wm. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary.

August 12*th*, 1891.

To the Secretary,
.......................Liberal Association.

Dear Sir,

In April, May, and June of last year meetings on behalf of Indian Reform were held in Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, Plymouth, Cardiff, Swansea, Exeter, in various divisions in London, and in many other places. They were addressed by Indian gentlemen and others delegated by the Indian National Congress, and by gentlemen of various political parties residing in the respective localities. At each of those meetings a Resolution of sympathy was carried and a Petition forwarded to the House of Commons. I append copies of the Resolution and Petition. The Committee are desirous that these proceedings should be followed by further practical action.

As one means of securing combined political effort, the Committee have addressed the officers of the National Liberal Federation, asking them to include Indian Reform among the questions to be discussed at the annual meeting to be held at Newcastle, and have received from the Secretary of the Federation a letter in which he says: "We would suggest that the appeal of your Committee should be made to the Liberal Associations of the country. As soon as they ask us to bring forward this question of Indian Reform you may be sure the Federation will readily respond." "Of the justice and importance of your aims," the Secretary proceeded, "my Committee are thoroughly convinced."

Acting upon this suggestion my Committee are now addressing the Associations throughout the country which are affiliated with the Federation, and earnestly trust that they will receive the sympathy and co-operation of your Association in this matter, which is one of vital importance to many millions of our fellow-subjects. The most effective way in which this sympathy and co-operation could, at the present moment, be shown, would be by the passing

of a Resolution by your Association begging the Committee of the Federation to adopt Justice and Reform for India as one plank in the Liberal platform, and by forwarding the same to the Committee of the Federation. If sufficient support in this way is obtained from Local Associations some such Resolution as the following will be brought forward at the Newcastle meeting :—

> "Resolved, that this Federation expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making, through their National Congress, to obtain the redress of their grievances by the goodwill of the British people, and is of opinion that the first and most important step towards securing a reform in the administration of India is to provide for the due representation of the people of India on the various Indian Councils by enacting that a certain proportion of the Members of those Councils shall be elected by that people, under such rules and restrictions as may seem fitting to the Government of India."

I shall be glad to forward to you full details regarding the Reform movement on hearing from you that they are required.

The Committee hope to receive the cordial support of your Association in behalf of a movement which seeks redress of grievances for our Indian fellow-subjects by those loyal and constitutional means which have always commended themselves to the British people.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
WM. DIGBY, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTION AND PETITION REFERRED TO.

RESOLUTION* passed at a public meeting held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, on April 22, 1890 :—

"That this meeting of the inhabitants of Plymouth expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the good-will and help of the British people ; and especially asks that the elective principle may be recognised in the Indian Councils' Bill now before Parliament."

PETITION* adopted by a public meeting held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, on April 22, 1890 :

"To the most honourable the House of Commons of Great Britain and Ireland ; The humble petition of the inhabitants of Plymouth and its neighbourhood, in public meeting assembled, prays your honourable House to allow of the insertion in the Indian Councils' Bill of a section permitting the election of an adequate proportion of the members of the supreme and provincial legislative councils, and of a large increase in the number of the members of the respective councils."

It is probable that the majority of the members of the Committee will be present, as delegates, at the meetings of the Federation, elected for this purpose by the local Liberal Associations of which they may be members.

MR. C. E. SCHWANN, M.P., ON "A RIDICULOUS AND EXASPERATING POLICY."

IN a letter to the *Daily News*, dated August 8th, Mr. Schwann, M.P., comments in a vigorous fashion on, as he aptly puts it, the "ridiculous and exasperating policy" of the India Office and the Government in connection with the Indian Councils' Reform Bill. Mr. Schwann says :—

I should like very briefly to call the attention of your readers to the attitude of the India Office with regard to the above Bill, as explained by Sir John Gorst in reply to a question put to him by Mr. W. S. B. McLaren on the Report of the resolution relating to the "East Indian Accounts," brought before the House of Commons on the last day of the session. The Under-Secretary of State for India said he "could not promise that the House of Commons in the next session would have leisure to discuss the great constitutional questions which had been made an appendage of a very modest measure of reform, and he was afraid that if the hon. member for Crewe and his friends persisted in the course they had adopted for the last three years, the people of India would have to wait some time longer before they enjoyed those modest reforms which had been promised by the Viceroy. The Bill had been withdrawn this session at the special wish of the leaders of the party opposite." Now, sir, I ask is this a dignified way for a great nation to deal with two hundred and eighty-five millions of its fellow-subjects in India? To say, in effect, that if certain members of Parliament wish to advocate, either by speech or by bringing in a Bill, the wider question of the election of a certain proportion of the members of certain councils in India by the Indian people—therefore India is to be denied "the modest reforms promised by the Viceroy" in the India Council Bill seems to me a ridiculous and exasperating policy. It is the policy of "mediocrity" with a vengeance! How can we expect the Indian people to remain attached to our rule if we treat them like spoilt children, and tell them "they shan't have the reforms promised to them if they cry for more"?

If it be true, as Sir John Gorst declares, that the Bill was withdrawn at the special desire of the Liberal leaders, then more shame to the Liberal leaders. As is well known, some few of the official Liberals—I will not call them leaders—are quite as timorous and nearly as Conservative as the ordinary official Tory, but I doubt whether they will be allowed much "show" in the next Liberal Ministry if the Radical element is to count for anything. That the Indian National Congress favours the introduction of the elective principle, to a limited extent, in the composition of the Viceregal Councils and others is quite true. Why should this proposition not be openly stated and discussed publicly? Why should it be hushed up? The Indian National Congress expresses the opinion of enlightened India, and the higher officials in India are laudably anxious to ascertain the opinion of the best educated Indians, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, in Indian questions, and are by no means hostile to the Congress, Sir Charles Elliott, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in January last, on receiving a deputation of Indian gentlemen, said "he deemed it right, at the outset of his administration, to declare his views in regard to popular movements in India. He wished to correct the mistaken impression that the Government was hostile to the Congress. The Government had no bias for or against the Congress. They considered it a movement which private persons were perfectly free to follow and encourage." But here every old-fashioned Anglo-Indian officer (with some noble exceptions) fancies he will curry favour with the powers that be by decrying the Congress and all its works. One signal proof that the Congress is a genuine expression of native opinion—of truly loyal native opinion—and not the work of agitators, is that many of the delegates have to travel thousands of miles, and to set aside caste, to attend the Congress meetings.

India reads Adam Smith and Stuart Mill, and is beginning to be moved by the same political aspirations which have made England what she is, and it would be wise to allow and encourage these aspirations to move in loyal and constitutional paths, and not attempt to damp them by the very infantine and transparent diplomacy of Lord Cross and his cynical, pushing, but totally unsympathetic representative in the Commons, qualities which, in my opinion, unfit him for the duties he is called upon to fill towards our progressive but sensitive fellow subjects in India.

ON THE TOMB OF MR. FAWCETT AT CAMBRIDGE.

STILL silent, cumbered with no gorgeous shrine,
He lies alone and has no company
But of the lingering iris, or woodbine,
And daisies that here bloom eternally
Exulting, with their nectar'd stars bespread
Wide, fearless of rough wind—there's no more.
But oft the sound of music silence-led—
Music is it? Some soft sound ne'er before
Heard, wafts the souls to thoughts naught words may paint.
He lived for man, and felt through his own soul,
And saw, whilst darkness-closed obedient
To some false phantom others lived. The whole
Place breathes his spirit. 'Tis his monument,
And flowers his epitaph that mark his goal.

H. S. GOUR.

Cambridge.

* Either this or an almost identical Resolution was passed and Petition adopted at each of the public meetings addressed by the Delegates. The only variation was that, in some cases, it was prayed that one-half of the Councillors might be elected, while in others "an adequate proportion" was substituted for "one-half."

(*Continued from page* 239.)

where there has been rain, but information incomplete." There is thus no apprehension of famine in Northern India. As to the measures taken for the relief of distress, I can as yet add nothing to what I stated yesterday in answer to a question on the subject.

PROMOTION OF OFFICERS ON THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLEN (Durham, S.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State for India has had under his consideration the advisability of taking some steps to accelerate the present slow rate of promotion of Officers of the Indian Staff Corps; if, not whether he will give early consideration to the subject:

And, whether he is in a position to make any communication to the House as to the views of the Government of India on this matter.

Sir JOHN GORST (Chatham): The Secretary of State is not at present contemplating any initiative in this matter. Nor has he received any communication from the Government of India on the subject.

EAST INDIA (OPIUM LICENCES).

On the motion of Mr. H. J. WILSON (York., W.R., Holmfirth) an address was ordered for return of copies of the various forms of opium licenses in use in the East Indies.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Indian Budget will be the First Order on some early day?

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's Hanover Square): Yes, sir; I think the Indian Budget will come soon after the Lords' amendments to the Education Bill have been disposed of. If we should be fortunate enough to finish Supply on Wednesday night, we would take the Education Bill on Thursday, and possibly might take the Indian Budget after that or on Friday. I do not wish hon. members, however, to regard this as a pledge, but merely as a contemplated possibility.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, N.): Might I point out to the right hon. gentleman that it would be more convenient, as the Indian Budget has been put off till so late, that it should not come immediately after the discussion of the Lords' amendments to the Education Bill? In view of an impending famine in India, there may be very important matters to be discussed upon the Indian Budget.

IMPENDING FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the increasingly serious reports with regard to impending famine in the North-West Provinces, Rajputana, and other districts in India, he will give the House the most recent information on the subject, and will state what steps the Government of India has taken to meet the distress and danger that may arise?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E) (for Sir John Gorst): My right hon. friend in whose absence I answer the question says —I have with me the latest telegrams about the crop and famine prospects. They are dated the 24th of July, and as they appeared in Saturday's newspapers I do not know that it is necessary to read them. A further telegram is expected to-morrow; and thereafter weekly telegrams will be sent every Friday as long as cause for anxiety continues. The telegrams will be sent to the newspapers. As regards the preparations for dealing with famine, the Secretary of State is in telegrapic communication with the Viceroy, whom he has urged to take without delay every necessary precaution for the relief of distress, and from whom he has heard that adequate arrangements have been made for all contingencies anticipated. In all the threatened British provinces famine codes have been issued and plans have been drawn up for dealing with distress caused by famine. Funds are available for meeting the cost of relief; and in any district where relief operations are necessary they will be begun on the scheme laid down in the famine codes. In two districts of Madras considerable relief operations have been going on for some months.

CONDITION OF COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA.

Mr. A. PEASE (York): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether the Government have received any reports as to the condition of the coolies in British Guiana since the removal of the late inspector to a subordinate position in the hospitals;

And, whether the status of the medical officers is virtually fixed by the elective members of the Combined Court of Policy, although the coolies are nominally under imperial protection?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): The late medical inspector of immigrants, now chief medical officer of the colonial hospital was succeeded by the present medical inspector of immigrants in July 1889. The usual annual reports as to the condition of the coolies both general and medical have been received for the year 1889. Those for 1890 have not yet been received. The salary £1,000 a year, of the medical inspector of immigrants is permanently secured; those of the other medical officers are voted annually. There is no reason to apprehend that the combined Court will not at all times provide whatever salaries H.M. Government think necessary in connection with coolie immigration.

JULY 30.

THE RAJABAI TOWER TRAGEDY.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Secretary of State is aware that among the public of Bombay serious alarm exists on account of the attitude and proceedings of the local police in connection with the case known as the Rajabai Tower Tragedy:

Whether he is aware that, in that case, the medical men who first viewed the corpses of the two Parsi girls, on the afternoon of the 25th of April, certified that there were on their persons certain marks indicating attempted outrage, but nevertheless before the post-mortem examination was held, the police adopted, and throughout the inquiry maintained, the theory of accident or suicide; that the man Aslajee, who was arrested the same evening on suspicion, was found to have his jacket torn and his trousers soiled, but that nevertheless, he was released the same night at 3 a.m., without even his person being examined or his clothes detained; and that for 56 hours the police failed to follow up an important clue furnished to them in person by one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace:

Whether these, and other allegations, tending to show bias and neglect of duty on the part of the police, were set forth in a memorial to the Bombay Government. signed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeheebhoy, Sir Dinshaw Petit, and some 45,000 inhabitants of Bombay, and praying that a complete investigation by independent and competent officers should be made into the facts of the case:

Whether the Secretary of State is aware that the said prayer was disregarded by the Bombay Government; that the man Aslajee wa s committed for trial upon incomplete evidence; and that he was acquitted:

And, whether the Secretary of State will order an independent investigation into this case with a view to allay the public alarm, and to clear the good name of the local police administration.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State has no official information as to the facts stated in the question. The petition to the Bombay Government signed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeheebhoy and others seems to have been presented while the proceedings against the accused men were going on. The Bombay Government very properly refused to interfere with the course of justice, but reserved the consideration of the necessity for further inquiry until the trial was concluded. The whole matter has received and is receiving the fullest attention of the Government of Bombay; and the Secretary of State sees no reason for interference.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to ask whether the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in a position now to fix a day for taking the Indian Budget?

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square): We have thought of putting down the Indian Budget for Monday or Tuesday next; but it is impossible to come to any definite arrangement until we are enabled to see how we stand in regard to Supply.

The formal resolution directing the financial accounts of India to be referred to a committee of the whole House was put and agreed to, and the consideration put down for Monday next.

PROMOTION IN THE INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK ALLEN (Durham, S.E.) deferred until Thursday his question—To ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State for India has had under his consideration the advisability of taking some steps to accelerate the present slow rate of promotion of officers of the Indian Staff Corps; if not, whether he will give early consideration to the subject;

And, whether he is in a position to make any communication to the House as to the views of the Government of India on this matter?

EAST INDIA (OPIUM).

On the motion of Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) an address was ordered for return of an article on "Opium" by Dr. Watt, reporter on Economic Products for the Government of India, recently written by him, and intended to be published in the sixth volume of the Dictionary of Economic Products of India.

IMMIGRATION OF COOLIES.

On the motion of Mr. A. Pease (York) an address was ordered for return showing particulars relating to immigration of Indian and Chinese coolies into British Guiana since the report of the Commission of Inquiry in 1871.

JULY 31.

INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I beg to give notice that upon the Indian Budget I will move the motion which stands on the paper in my name, "to call attention to the conditions under which native labour is employed in factories and mills" in British India, etc., and to move a resolution.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to give notice that on the Indian Budget I will call attention to the proceedings of the Indian National Congress, and to the final resolution passed by that body representing that the people of India suffer serious grievances under British rule, consequent upon the absence of all elective representation of the people of India on the Legislative Councils of the Empire, and will move "that this House is of opinion that some measure to amend the Indian Council Act of 1861, embodying the elective principle, is highly desirable, and should be passed into law as soon as possible."

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATES.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether, according to the existing rules sanctioned by the Secretary of State, at least a proportion of the three appointments of Presidency magistrates at Bombay ought to be conferred on Natives of India, and that if a European, not being in the Covenanted Service, is appointed, he must have certain special qualifications, and his appointment is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State:

Whether two of these appointments are now held by Europeans, and the third is vacant:

Whether there are Native gentlemen qualified to fill the vacancy:

Whether Mr. Webb, proposed by the Bombay Government, possesses the qualifications required by the rules:

And, whether the Secretary of State will decline to confirm the nomination, and insist on a native being appointed?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir J. Fergusson, Manchester, N.E., for Sir J. Gorst): I have been requested by my right hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for India to reply to this question. The answer to the first question of the hon. gentleman is that there is no such rule. The appointment of these Presidency magistrates is by section 18 of the Criminal Procedure Code vested in the local Government without any limitation whatever. The Secretary of State has placed no restriction on the powers of the local Government so far as concerns the appointment of the chief magistrate and one of the junior magistrates. But as regards the other junior magistracy he has directed that, unless the person to be appointed belongs to the Covenanted Civil Service or to the Staff Corps, no person other than a native of India shall be appointed without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State. The reply to the second question is that it is believed that two of the appointments are held by Europeans, and that the third is vacant. The Secretary of State says in answer to the hon. member's third question that he has no information. The reply to the fourth question is that Mr. Webb is well qualified, and has already held the office of chief magistrate some seven times, and has fulfilled the duties of the office satisfactorily. Perhaps I may say that I remember his appointment on more than one occasion. The reply to the last question is that the Secretary of State is still in communication with the Government of India.

Mr. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): May I ask the right hon. gentleman, whether, following up the report of the Public Service Commission, it has been laid down that such appointments are to be conferred on members of the Uncovenanted Service if he was a member of the Bar and was acquainted with the language of the country; and whether Mr. Webb possesses either of those qualifications?

Sir J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): The hon. member must remember that I do not represent the India Office, and that I can give no information as to mere matters of detail. I have no doubt that as regards a great number of the uncovenanted appointments in India they are restricted, as the hon. gentleman has pointed out, but that is not the case in regard to the appointment of magistrates. I am not able to say whether Mr. Webb can conduct the business which comes before him in the vernacular, but I may say that he has been commended to me on more than one occasion he being thoroughly competent for this appointment.

THE MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT.

Mr. ROBY (Lancashire, S.E., Eccles): I beg to put to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a question of which I have given the Under Secretary for India private notice and which I believe the right hon. gentleman is prepared to answer. I wish to ask whether under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1889, it is a criminal offence punishable with imprisonment or fine for any person to sell or expose for sale sewing cotton, with a false description of the number of yards applied thereto, unless he can prove his action to be innocent in the matter and gives information as to the person from whom he obtained the goods. And whether, if so, the Government will take steps to make this known to dealers in India and to give aid in the detection and punishment of offenders under this Act?

Sir J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E., for Sir J. Gorst): My right hon. friend has requested me to answer the question. It would be a criminal offence, under the Indian Merchandise Marks Act, punishable with fine and imprisonment for any person to sell or expose for sale sewing cotton bearing a false description of the number of yards for sale unless he can prove his action to be innocent and to give information as to the person from whom he obtained the goods. The Government of India has taken every step to make the law known to all dealers and there seems to be no necessity for further measures of publicity. The Government of India is always ready to give all the help it can in enforcing the provisions of the Act.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Sir W. HARCOURT (Derby) asked what the course of public business would be and when it was proposed to take the Indian Budget.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square) replied that in the event of supply being closed that evening it would be necessary to have a sitting on Saturday for the report of supply. The Lords amendments to the Irish Land Purchase Bill would then be considered on Monday and the Indian Budget on Tuesday.

THE INDIAN MAILS.

On the Report of Supply, upon the Post Office Vote.

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I hope that more latitude will be given upon the consideration of this vote than is usually given to questions of this kind, on account of the understanding which was arrived at last night that we should agree to allow this vote to pass and to take the discussion upon the report. In the first place I have to express my regret that during the last five or six years the Post Office Vote has been always made one of the last for consideration, and that it has invariably been brought on at such an hour as almost to preclude discussion. I think that considering the importance of the vote the great interest taken in it by the public and the effects which it has, it ought to be brought in earlier in the Session. I propose now to confine my remarks to two or three subjects which are of very great importance, and I will as briefly as possible refer to them. In the first place I cannot help congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the fact that he has during the last five years obtained from the Post Office a revenue by £1,200,000 more than he had in 1886. Although I admit that a portion of the surplus has been devoted to the improvement of the service generally, I still think that an attempt should be made to put a stop to this largely increasing surplus out of the postal revenue. More than £900,000 a year is now obtained—more than was obtained even five years ago. I wish to call attention to what I consider to be one of the gravest scandals that has ever occurred in regard to the Post Office of this country; and I must claim the indulgence of the House while I enter fully into the matter. I shall observe your ruling, sir, in connection with the questions to which I propose to refer. The House is aware that there are mails to India, Australia, and the East generally every week, and that these mails are carried from Calais to Brindisi. Upon this service we expend every year about £100,000. We pay £100,000 to the French and Italian Governments for the service. For that sum I have privately learned that the French and Italian Governments only pay £40,000 to the respective railway companies which do the work. A sum of £60,000 is therefore handed over to the French and Italian Governments for doing nothing. As far back as 1886 I called attention to this matter, and I also called attention to it before the Conference which was held in London with a hope that some step would be taken to avert the continuance of the scandal. In 1888 delegates were sent from the Post Office to France who succeeded in getting a reduction which amounted to £20,000 a year. This in my judgment is a very small amount considering the large sum obtained by the French and Italian Governments for the service. It was pointed out that it was impossible to secure an Imperial penny postage so long as we paid three-halfpence to France and Italy. I attacked this high charge and a commission was sent out which secured a reduction of one-third of the charge—one halfpenny per letter being taken off by the French and Italian Governments. The consequence of that mission, which was undertaken by Mr. Forman and Mr. Forbes, was so far successful, but I am bound to say that the commissioners did not with all their intelligence secure all the desirable results which were to be expected from a mission from this country. We expected to ascertain what the real cost was to the French and Italian Governments for the conveyance of the mails from Calais to Brindisi, and what the amount was which was paid to France and Italy as compared with the amounts actually received by the railway companies. I have said that the result of the mission of Messrs. Forman and Forbes was to obtain a reduction of one halfpenny. Upon making a further inquiry I found that on the 12th of October there was a despatch of eighty tons of letters and newspapers for which the French and Italian Governments were paid £1,209 while the sum paid to the railway companies which carried the mails was only £312. A sum of £679 went to France and £218 to Italy for the service on that particular day, and although the cost to England was £1,209 the actual cost of the work was only £312, the French and Italian Governments making a clear profit of more than £800. Now, I do not see why these Governments should make such a large profit for conveying the mails across their countries. I am prepared to admit that owing to the reduction of rate there has been a largely increasing correspondence between India, Australia, and the East—not so large as I hope it will be—but every extra letter sent by the mail gives an increased profit to France and Italy. I have been glad to hear from the Postmaster-General that steps are being taken to remedy the evil. I have now to call attention to a matter which I think affects the privileges of the House of Commons. I find that the whole of the sum paid for the conveyance of the mails from this country to India and the East to the French and Italian Governments is paid away by the Post Office without any direct authority. It is never submitted in the estimates, we have never had it submitted to us. Although the mails are conveyed by special contract in sealed bags and for a fixed sum Parliament has no control whatever over the matter. When the question was before a Select Committee I examined Sir Arthur Blackwood upon the subject, and his answers were of a most extraordinary character. I pointed out that there was a payment of £67,000 to the French and Italian Governments which was increased a few years later to £80,000, and Sir A. Blackwood told me that this item did not appear in the estimates at all, but that it was deducted from the gross revenue just as other charges are deducted. This great contract and this large payment have nothing to do with the exchange of correspondence between this country and France and Italy and is certainly a service which ought to appear in the estimates. Sir Arthur Blackwood says that not only is the charge never submitted to the House of Commons in the estimates, but that the amounts payable to foreign countries are treated as a deduction from the gross revenue and not as a payment. I want to know why we should not take action in so important a matter. Sir Arthur Blackwood told the Committee that the contracts are made by the Postmaster-General and the permanent officials of the Treasury and that a maximum is fixed for the service, but that statement is entirely wrong. In further examination Sir Sir Arthur Blackwood stated that there is nothing whatever in the votes to indicate that £100,000 is paid by special contract for the conveyance of the Indian and Eastern mails. Twopence halfpenny is charged for every letter from this country to India and our dependencies, and the Post Office deducts one penny from that sum in order to pay £100,000 to France and Italy. I do not know what course is open to hon. members when scandals of this kind occur, and therefore I should like to take the opinion of the House as to the character of this contract and the way in which it is carried out. Why is Parliament deprived of all control? The statement first made to me was that this money was paid in this manner because it was impossible to arrive at an exact amount. There are many other payments in regard to which it is impossible to arrive at the exact amount that ought to be paid, but that is no reason why steps should not be taken to give Parliament a proper control over the expenditure. To show the extraordinary conduct of the Post Office officials in the matter I distinctly asked Sir Arthur Blackwood, "Have you any notion what the French and Italian Governments receive for this work?" and the answer was, that they never inquired. And the commissioners who went to France said that they did not think it was a branch of the inquiry in which they had any concern. What would be thought of business men if they conducted their affairs in the same manner? I asked, "Are you aware that the French and Italian railway companies complain that they do not get their fair share of the money," and Sir Arthur Blackwood's reply was "I have no knowledge." The whole evidence before the Committee showed that

the special commissioners who went to France were quite satisfied with having saved £20,000 without inquiring how the money that was paid was really expended or who received it. What would be thought if the erection of a post office building were put up to contract and the intermediate man were only asked what he would charge without any attempt being made to get at the actual cost? It is a singular thing that notwithstanding the loss no public outcry has been made against the enormous expenditure—an expenditure which is altogether outside the control of Parliament I hardly think the matter ought to rest here. I think it can be proved without question that the contract which has been entered into by our government officials is unworthy of men holding a high position in the public service. I exonerate the Postmaster-General from all blame in the matter. He has been kept in ignorance and it was only after great pains and labour that I succeeded in obtaining information. Having ascertained what the character of the mails sent by way of Calais to Brindisi was on the 12th of October last I went to Cook's Tourist Agency and ascertained that the cost of sending the same weight first class across France and Italy would have been £400. Then why should we be called upon to pay £1,200 for the Indian mails? Why should we lose £700 in running the mails one way; of course there is a corresponding loss the other side. I am informed that Australia is relieving herself of a part of the liability by sending some of their mails by another route. I trust that the House of Commons will, without delay, institute a thorough investigation into the matter and that a new arrangement will be entered into.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes, Cambridge University) in the course of his reply said: The question of the reduction of the rates between Calais and Brindisi is a matter which has always been present to the mind of the Department and on two occasions of my term of office unsuccessful efforts have been made to reduce the rates. I listened with very great regret to the remarks which the hon. member permitted himself to make with regard to one of the best of public servants (Mr. Buxton Forman), who has succeeded on two occasions in obtaining a considerable reduction of the rate. Our representatives at the Vienna Postal Congress were instructed to take steps to introduce the subject with the view of securing a further reduction in the rate but they speedily discovered that the Congress declined to entertain the subject and our representatives were left to negotiate as well as they could with the representatives of France and Italy. The existing arrangement is for five years and terminates at the end of this year, and I hope it may be possible in the meantime to obtain a further reduction.

AUGUST 3.

MESSRS. COOK AND SONS AND INDIA.

Mr. ATKINSON (Boston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India what is the nature of the services of Messrs. Cook and Sons, referred to by him in an after dinner speech a few days ago, when he said: "The nation was not fully aware of the debt of gratitude which was owed to Messrs. Cook and Sons, for the practical and useful way in which they had strengthened our power in the East;"

And, how Messrs. Cook and Sons are compensated for such services?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The service alluded to was the conveyance of Indian pilgrims to Jeddah by Messrs. Cook, which has materially improved the conditions under which the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina is made. There is a small sum guaranteed by the Government of India in case of loss—£2,000 for the first year and £1,000 subsequently. The full sum was claimed in 1887 and 1888, but only a small part in 1889 and 1890.

OPIUM LICENSES.

Mr. WALTER M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India with regard to the fact that the Government of India licenses three shops for the retail sale of opium at the penal settlement of Port Blair, whether he will make inquiry as to the allegation that, although the sale of opium to convicts is prohibited, such sale, in fact, takes place to a large extent, and that a considerable proportion of the gratuity money given to convicts is, in fact, repaid to Government by the purchase of opium;

And, whether he will represent to the Government of India the advisability of at once closing the shops, and prohibiting the sale of opium altogether in a settlement of which the population is mainly composed of convicts?

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no official information on the subject, but the hon. member's question will be communicated to the Government of India in the usual course.

THE MURDER OF BULWUNT RAO.

Mr. KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he is aware that with the exception of a preliminary inquiry nothing had been done when the last Mail left India to bring to justice the persons who murdered Bulwunt Rao, at Nijain, in the Gwalior territory, on the 19th May last:

And, whether the Government of India are taking steps to secure that these persons are speedily put upon their trial, and that full inquiry is made as to the part stated to have been borne by the Maharaja Holkar in instigating the crime?

Sir. J. GORST (Chatham): The Secretary of State has been informed by the Government of India that the Gwalior Durbar has appointed a special judge, who was shortly expected at Nijam to try the case. The Government of India is watching the case.

THE INDIA FACTORY ACT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the final telegram to the Viceroy of India regarding the Factory Act, contained in Parliamentary Paper No. 224, presented on 5th May, and ending "By decision of Her Majesty's Government Bill must be passed without delay," was sent by "the Secretary of State in Council", and after the Council had had due opportunity of expressing an opinion as provided by law?

Sir J. GORST (Chatham): The telegram was sent as urgent under section 26 of the 21st and 22nd Vic., cap. 106, and subsequently submitted to Council as therein prescribed.

INDIAN IMMIGRANTS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he can say whether the news from Natal published in a Reuter's telegram is authentic in so far as it states that the Legislative Council have passed a resolution pressing to get the period of indentures of Indian immigrants extended to ten years, at the expiration of which they are to return to India, thereby subjecting Indians to compulsory labour for the whole period of their residence, and also that, after being dealt with by a special committee, an amended Constitution Bill has been presented, by which the Colonists still insist that the Governor shall only exercise his powers over the Natives by advice of the Executive Council, and that the annual vote for the Natives shall be subject to the control of the Council.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): In answer to the first part of the question I have to say that the Secretary of State has no information beyond the Reuter's telegram referred to, but as the proposal appears to have been to open a correspondence on this subject between the Colonial and Indian Governments, the latter, without whose concurrence the step cannot be taken, will be in a position to fully protect the interests of the immigrants. The papers about to be distributed will show that the present position of the Bill is as stated by the hon. member; and that the Legislative Council has been informed that Her Majesty's Government adhere to their previous objections to the proposed provisions respecting the natives.

EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Order for going into Committee read.

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): Mr. Speaker, as this is the only opportunity I shall have, I desire to bring before the House some matters relating to the employment of labour in Indian mills and factories in conformity with the notice which I have had on the paper for some time past to the effect that further reforms are necessary in the law of just dealing with native labour in factories and workshops. Even before the recent Labour Conference held at Berlin labour questions had come to receive more attention not only in this country but throughout Europe generally, and we have recently ourselves been engaged in discussing a new Factory Act chiefly made up of amendments to the principal Act of 1878, and a principal object of the new Act is to alter the age at which children may begin to work and the hours of labour for women, and to introduce remedial clauses for their benefit. India, too, has had its Factory Acts, and there has been one recently passed which is to take effect on the first day of next January. One of the main objects I have in bringing forward this question is to draw attention to the inadequate character of this Act to meet the reasonable requirements for the control and regulation of native labour in India. The present position of labour in that country is that it has almost no protection whatever, except in the case of children. Any person above twelve years of age may be worked at any hour night or day and for as many hours as employers think proper, the sole exception is that children between seven and twelve years of age cannot be worked in mills more than nine hours a day. It is to remedy this and other conditions that the recent Act has been passed, but its provisions are so inadequate and the Act deals with such a small percentage of Indian labour that I have no doubt the House will agree with me in considering that the recent measure which has not yet come into operation, will, before it does so, have to be re-amended and much enlarged in its scope in order to be of any real value to those whom it is intended to protect. No amount of time for which I could at present ask the indulgence of the House would be sufficient to make a fully adequate statement of the case, I shall therefore confine myself to a bare recital of a few facts which perhaps after all may be the most forcible way of presenting a case of this kind. The position I take up being, in my judgment, a strong one, I hope the right hon. gentleman who represents India will be able to make some statement promising a re-amendment and an extension of the scope of the recent Act in order at least to do partial justice to the labouring classes in India, who are unable to combine for their own protection or create those labour organisations with which we are familiar in this country. It is impossible to urge on the part of the Indian mill owners that theirs is a declining trade or one that is suffering from severe competition. Even if such reasons existed they would be entirely inapplicable because no one dare advocate the employment of men, women, and children under unreasonable conditions even to make a trade profitable which otherwise would not be so, but as a matter of fact it is so profitable that the trade of cotton spinning in India has been increasing by leaps and bounds. The first mill was erected as lately as 1854, they had multiplied to sixty-seven in 1883, and between that time and the present, that is to say in a period of some seven or eight years, the number has more than doubled, and there are now nearly 150 cotton mills in India. In some of the Indian newspapers they have spoken in respect to the mill workers as if they rather liked the long hours and the other existing conditions of employment. Well, sir, we were told here a little while ago that the children in Lancashire preferred, and that it was beneficial for them, to go to the mill at ten years of age instead of waiting until they were twelve, but we had these views successfully disputed at the time and they have since been thoroughly exposed by the evidence given a few days ago by Lancashire schoolmasters before the Labour Commission. If therefore we find that little dependence can be placed on statements, made as these were, relating to persons at our own door, how much less dependence should be placed on statements made about operatives so far away as India? On

this point no doubt, under certain circumstances they would often find workers who would express themselves as satisfied with existing conditions. I have said, sir, under certain circumstances, as this would make all the difference as to the views which might be expressed by the workers themselves. On this point I shall quote a sentence from the report of the recent Commission on Indian factories, where the commissioners say in speaking of native witnesses, "Operatives who had been answering our questions freely while alone were in many instances reduced to silence or evasive replies by the accidental presence of their employers." This shows how little dependence is to be placed on statements coming from India to the effect that the workers rather like their existing regulations. The remark from the report of the commission which I have just read will show that there are certain coercive influences which can easily be brought to bear on operatives in India to cause them to give evidence which might lead those unacquainted with the facts to suppose that they were very well satisfied with their present conditions of employment. I have reason, sir, I think, to consider the House, also the Government will be in favour of the view that the Act which has been passed by the Indian Council is insufficient to adequately remove the abuses connected with Indian Labour, and I will also say that it is necessary that this House should assist the Government in this matter. The Government themselves must I believe be dissatisfied with the scope of the Act as it certainly does not go anything like so far as they intended it should go, and indeed, for what has been done in India we have in my opinion chiefly to thank the Secretary of State for India and the right hon. gentleman who represents the Indian Government in this House. The new Factory Act was for a considerable time under discussion, and the Secretary of State for India sent a despatch to the Governor-General. "The general principle of all factory legislation as already adopted in this country and in India is that life and limb must be protected, and that the health of all women, young persons and children must so far as possible be assured. To this principle Her Majesty's Government have recently in the Berlin Conference declared their adhesion, thus recommending it for adoption by the other powers of Europe. How far this general principle has been already applied in India is a matter for your consideration. As regards any additional factory legislation in India due regard must be had to the circumstances of that country which are in many respects different from those of any European nation. But the same general principle is nevertheless applicable and the object of any such legislation must be to secure without fail for the various classes of operatives in India an amount of protection for life and limb and an amount of security for the health of women, young persons and children not inferior to that which is afforded by the law of England." Now, sir, let us see how far the Indian Council has carried out the views which they were asked to attend to, and although this could be better shown in tabular form I will try to make the enormous difference between the Act as passed, and the legislation of this country as clear as I can without the advantage of a table. The India Act applies chiefly to textile factories and I shall compare its provisions with those which exist in our own Acts. By the India Act children may be worked at 9 years of age for 42 hours per week; our limit of age is 11 and the hours 28½ per week; girls above 14 and women are to work in Indian mills 66 hours per week; our limit is 56½, and the intervals for meals and rest are with us 2 hours, while they are only 1½ in India. In India the rest days for all workers will be 52 days during the year; with us they are 84. The limit of the working day for children is to be from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m.—that is 15 hours per day; here they are limited to twelve. There is no limit to the working day in India for male young persons, for women and for men, unless the mill is run on the shift system; but where this is not done, women and young persons may be employed at night, which cannot be done with us—a practice which has been condemned by all medical men as particularly injurious for women and all young persons under eighteen. In India, as the mill runs from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., it presents great difficulty to the inspectors—and this branch of mill supervision is notoriously weak in India. In reference to this I may quote what the Home Secretary said in his speech on the second reading of the Factory Bill this year, one object of which was intended to put a stop to the evil of loose limits in working hours. The Home Secretary in commenting upon them said that they seriously interfered with the work of inspection, as "there is no process by which the inspector can detect that women are being overworked, as there is nothing to show when they commenced, when they left off, and when they took their meals." On this account the Bill recently passed through the House requires a specified period of twelve hours to be fixed by the employers, and the employees are to be given one and a-half hours for meals. These loose limits are in the India Act, and require to be altered, as inspection with respect to the hours worked by women, children and young persons will be of no value while such conditions exist. Now, sir, can it be said the regulations of the India Act come up to the standard laid down by Lord Cross in his despatch? So far from this being the case, they have not in any particular whatever similar conditions or hours for work in India to those instituted by statute in this country. Lord Cross demands that—"without fail for the various classes of operatives in India an amount of protection for life and limb and an amount of security for the health of women, young persons and children not inferior to that which is afforded by the law of England." Now, sir, some persons suppose that in India children may be employed at an earlier age than in this country, as they mature at an earlier age. But it is only true that they develop earlier in certain functional ways. So far from their maturing earlier than Europeans, I may quote Mrs. Pechey Phipson, who has practised medicine among women in India, and who, in a recent lecture in Bombay, said "A Hindu girl of fifteen is about equal to an English girl of eleven, instead of the reverse, and that statements to the contrary by Englishmen who have no opportunity of being acquainted with family life were totally misleading." The truth is, sir, that bone and muscle take about the same time to develope in every climate. With respect to night working, it has been defended on the ground that it is cooler and more agreeable to the workers. Why, sir, the temperature in the Indian mills is ninety degrees or over whether it is day or night; and the highest medical authorities could be quoted, if I desired to take up the time of the House, to show that night work is as bad for the Indian operative as it is bad for labour everywhere else; and I would call the attention of the House to the fact that every man operative who gave evidence before the late Commission asked that the hours of labour should be from six in the morning until six at night. I might here point out that the India Act does not cover anything like the whole of Indian labour. Many workshops and factories will be entirely outside the Act. Indeed, only a small percentage of the people of India will come within its provisions. But even worse than the condition of the cotton mills to which it chiefly applies is the fact which was stated in the House on the 4th of last month by the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India, in reply to a question put by myself, that in mines in India women and children are now employed underground. It is more than half a century since this was made impossible in the United Kingdom, and it should not be necessary to wait for legislation to stop it in India. Surely the Council could by an order make such a thing illegal forthwith. Now, sir, by what arguments do the Indian mill owners oppose legislation? Let me appeal to the *Times* and read a few lines from an article on this question in which the writer says: "any reader who will take the trouble to go back to the evidence which was adduced by Lord Shaftesbury in support of the reforms which are inseparably associated with his name, will find that opposition to the Factory Acts in England proceeded on precisely the same lines as those on which it is now being conducted in India." That, sir, spares one the trouble of occupying the time of the House in dealing with the Indian objections to reform, as we have long ago settled them in our own debates on these questions. Reforms must be insisted on, and I cannot show the necessity of this so well by any language of my own as by reading another short extract from a leading article which appeared in the same journal last year, which states—"It would be an absolute disgrace to this country—the acknowledged pioneer of factory legislation in Europe—if Indian manufacturers were still suffered to practice the barbarities from which our representatives at the Conference fancied themselves able to denounce from a position of unusual security." It is the Berlin Conference that is here referred to and I might extend what I have said by some quotations from the speeches of our representatives at the Conference; but I content myself with quoting the one sentence which fell from the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India who represented this country at the Conference in which he made the following important and explicit declaration—"We can pledge ourselves for Great Britain that our Government faithful to its actions in the past will conform resolutely in the future if it does not go beyond them to the benevolent principles of the Conference." Now, sir, there is hardly one of the principles to which our representative referred in the words quoted, with respect to the ages, hours and conditions at, and under, which women, young persons and children labour, that is not violated by the India Factory Act just passed. I have nothing whatever to say against the manufacturers of India. They are neither better nor worse than their class in every country, and as employers they treat employees as unjustly as they can or dare, so long as the law permits them. In this country combination among employees has done much to improve their position, but the law had first to make combination possible. In India, such combination, although perhaps allowed is, from the nature of the people impracticable, and consequently the law must at once step in and restrain the action of the employers. Now, sir, I have finished what I intended to say to the House on this subject. I have read the despatch of Lord Cross in which he takes up the position that India must have substantially the same labour legislation as the United Kingdom, differing only in such circumstances as are necessary for local requirements. I have also read to the House the words of the Under Secretary for India pledging our Government to at least conform to the principles of the Berlin Conference, and no one can deny that there is a great gulf between the principles he spoke of and the terms of the New India Factory Act. The arguments used in India against a change are the same old ones revived that did duty in Lord Shaftesbury's time against reform, long since agreed to by us and which are admitted on all hands to be highly beneficial in their effect. I have not, sir, said a word nor used a quotation with the object of making an appeal to the feelings of this House; and I might have read scores of extracts from the reports of medical men, inspectors, and other qualified persons which would have had that effect, but I have refrained and confined myself to a bare statement of the more important facts bearing on the case. I think, sir, after quoting Lord Cross's despatch and the words of the Under Secretary for India it will be unnecessary for me to move the resolution which stands in my name or to divide the House. I trust I am right in looking for a sympathetic reply from the right hon. gentleman who represents India, and that the Government will impose upon the Council of India the terms sent in their own despatch, and, as the *Times* said in its leading article—"He will not permit to exist in India a state of things which would be an absolute disgrace to this country—the acknowledged pioneer of factory legislation in Europe." We are, sir, discussing the position of people who have no Employers' Liability Act, and who, although numerically strong are politically weak, and are really unable to combine for their own defence as workmen do in Europe. It is not too late to enlarge the scope of the new Act so as to make it of some value, as the council will meet in October, and the Act does not take effect until the 1st of January. I hope I may also rely on the support of hon. members on the other side of the House, for this is not a party question; and as another reason for this I may add that nothing can relieve this House from its responsibility in seeing that reasonable and fair conditions are framed for the regulation and control of labour throughout British India.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I trust that the reply to the sympathetic appeal of my hon. friend who has brought forward this subject, and who has urged further measures for the reform of the Indian Factory Acts, will not be acceded to by her Majesty's Government. He has put forward two grounds for a reform: in the first place he seeks to have them assimilated to the Acts in this country, and in the next place he bases his appeal upon the decision of the Berlin Conference. Now, with regard to the decision of the Berlin Conference we all recognise that the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India was a most worthy representative of this country, and that he urged upon the Conference the necessity for further

factory legislation in all European countries. But we also recognise the fact that the representations of the right hon. gentleman have not been followed up by the Ministry of which he is a member. It would therefore be altogether inconsistent if her Majesty's Government were to endeavour to enforce legislation in reference to factory labour in India while at the same time they are not willing to insist on the recommendations of the Berlin Conference being adopted in their own country. Another point upon which my hon. friend urges the Government to take action is that it is desirable to bring up Indian factory legislation to the same level, in all its details, to factory legislation in England. Now it does seem to me that my hon. friend in desiring the House to accept a proposal of this kind is endeavouring by means of a discussion and political pressure to usurp the functions which are generally delegated to legislative action. If the House were once to embark on such an undertaking, it would be embarking in an undertaking which would be extremely unfair both to the people and the Government of India. I must therefore protest against the attempt of my hon. friend to urge the Government to enter into any legislation of the kind. As far as I have been able to read the papers which have been laid before the House, what we have rather to complain of is that the Government have in the past brought undue pressure to bear on the Government of India in regard to the Factory Act which has just been passed. My hon. friend quoted the despatch of Lord Cross of May, 1890, and also the speeches at the Berlin Conference; but my hon. friend did not mention the fact that the despatch was sent out to cover certain memorials which had been sent to the Secretary of State urging upon him to adopt the conclusions which the memorialists had arrived at. Now with all due deference to the Chambers of Commerce from which the memorials emanated, I venture to doubt whether they were the natural body to decide what was good for factory legislation in India. Apart from the despatch of Lord Cross, of 1890, all the information supplied to him is contained in four pages of telegrams asking for advice from the Government of India. I find that the Bill dealing with the question was postponed from one year to another—the Government of India expressing their willingness to consult the native governments; but we find a constant repetition of telegrams urging expedition. They convey no information to the House, but express a constant desire that the Viceroy should expedite matters. In the next place we have a series of telegrams between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India, by which we are given to understand that the details of the new Factory Act were settled by instructions from the India Office, and under protest in regard to several matters from the Viceroy of India. Then we have this telegram from the Secretary of State: "Her Majesty's Government have considered your telegram of the 20th inst., and have decided that the Bill must be proceeded with and passed without delay." Further than that, there is a telegram announcing that the Bill was passed without delay; and we have heard to-day from the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State, in reply to my hon. friend the member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), that the final telegram to the Viceroy stating that Her Majesty's Government had decided that the Bill "must be passed without delay" was sent as urgent under section 26 of the 21st and 22nd Victoria, chapter 106, which makes special provision for cases of urgency. This is a provision which empowers the Secretary of State, but only in matters of urgency, to override the opinion of the Government of India, and also to override the opinion of the members of the Indian Council. Therefore I think that my hon. friend has no ground to complain as to the pressure which has been exercised by Her Majesty's Government in securing the passing of the Factory Act. There is one matter of detail to which I must refer, as it was alluded to by my hon. friend. My hon. friend having contended that there ought to be a levelling up of factory legislation in India to that which exists in this country, quoted speeches at the Berlin Conference and articles from the *Times*. Now the *Times* of July 17th, contains a letter from Mrs. Pechey Phipson, stating that she had seen with surprise the letter of Mr. Hope Currie in reference to the Factory Act, but that her astonishment had reached a climax when she saw words of her own quoted as an argument against the employment of women in the Indian factories. She proceeded to point out that the result of what had already been done by the Indian Factory Act had been to turn women out of the higher work in the factories and to drive them to the heavy work of agricultural labour. I could quote similar statements on the subject from other authorities, but if any hon. member will go through the selection of Indian newspapers constantly sent here he will see it repeatedly stated that the Act was the result of political pressure at home. As a matter of fact, Her Majesty's Government have put pressure upon the Government of India to pass the Factory Act in the form in which it has been passed. My hon. friend the member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) put a question last year upon this subject. He urged the Indian Government to pass the Factory Act; and in calling attention to certain details of factory work in India, he based his appeal to the Government to press the Indian Government to embark in factory legislation, among other things, upon the fact that great indignation was felt by the Lancashire operatives at the competition to which they were exposed. The factory legislation which my hon. friend then urged upon the Government to adopt has since been adopted. My hon. friend the member for Glasgow (Mr. Provand) now assumes a different attitude, and urges much further legislation, although my hon. friend the member for Flintshire acknowledged himself that one of the principal motive causes for legislation in India was the indignation of the Lancashire operatives at the competition to which they were subjected. I believe that the demand for legislation comes chiefly, if not exclusively, from Lancashire, which is exposed to very severe competition from the Indian cotton mills. My hon. friend the member for Oldham (Mr. Maclean) has had great experience of India, and he also knows something about factory legislation. My hon. friend and I were members of the Grand Committee on Trade, when the Factory and Workshops' Bill was discussed, and there was no more strenuous an advocate on behalf of the factory operatives of Oldham, nor one who took a more prominent part in fixing trade limits, than my hon. friend. Yet my hon. friend takes an entirely different view from that of the hon. member for Glasgow. On the 17th of February last, the hon. member for Oldham put a question in this House as to whether the Indian Factory Act would include the recommendations of the Berlin Conference as to age and other matters; and such was the weight attached to the opinion of my hon. friend that in one of the despatches of the Secretary of State for India particular reference was made to the question of my hon. friend. Without absolutely urging the adoption of the view of my hon. friend, the Secretary of State placed it before the Government of India, and put pressure upon that Government to adopt the views of the Lancashire members generally. I do not think, after all that has occurred, that it is expedient her Majesty's Government should give encouragement to motions of this kind, urging them to put pressure on the Government of India. We all know that such things have taken place before, and it is my belief that on the present occasion an attempt is being made to repeat the experiment. I think the House ought to enter a strong protest against the course which my hon. friend the member for Glasgow is urging the Government to take.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I do not intend to say much upon this occasion, as I have a motion down in my own name; but as my hon. friend the member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) has referred to a question which was put by me last year, it is only right that I should offer an explanation. My hon. friend only read a portion of my question. What I spoke of was the competition between the Lancashire operatives and operatives in India who were working for eighty hours a week. I can only say that to some extent I share the feelings of my hon. friend, and that I fully appreciate the very great danger of imposing restrictions upon Indian factory labour. It is quite true that I have felt that the time had come when we should have some kind of factory legislation in India. They are almost reduced to skeletons by the cruel conditions under which they have to work, and I felt it was disgraceful to see a Christian nation standing still and not moving a single muscle to meet abominations which go on in India, and which we stopped in this country fifty years ago. I am not afraid or ashamed to say, in face of the native population of India, for whom I have always pleaded in this House, that the manufacturers of India are not only native Indians but largely Lancashire people, and that the Indian factories work to a large extent with Lancashire capital. These cruel slave drivers in India are not only wealthy Indians but are oftentimes wealthy Englishmen. I say that on the ground of justice and humanity legislation of this kind is absolutely called for. I do not believe such legislation will do the slightest harm to trade in India even more than it did in Lancashire. The same arguments are used against it now as were used against it formerly in India. However, I quite believe that it would never do for this country to force on Indian legislation which would have the appearance of being suggested by jealousy of her national manufacturers. I would be the very last man to support such legislation. I would not agree to the home Government forcing legislation upon people in India in too hasty a manner. I wish to stand as it were impartially between those who wish to bring factory legislation in India at any rate to the level of English legislation—which I do not think possible—and those who wish merely to adopt a policy of *laissez faire*, which I cannot countenance. I hope the House will excuse my intervention.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, etc.): When we made the change in the procedure of this House which enables all sorts of Indian subjects to be discussed before we come to the Indian Budget I ventured to express doubt and dissent as to the expediency of the alteration. It seems to me that the proceedings of this evening are a justification of the doubts I then expressed. The Legislative has not contemplated that India should be administered in this House, but no doubt the finances of India are very closely connected with the interests of this country, large sums of money being borrowed by India from this country. Therefore Parliament in its wisdom thought fit that there should be an opportunity for this House to deal to some extent one evening in the Session with the finances of India. We have now departed from that arrangement. There is very little doubt that the finances of India will not be discussed at all this evening and the result will be that the object of discussing those finances will be lost, and we shall be treated instead to a debate on all sorts of subjects. I have rather prophesied that the subject of factory law reform in India would be a matter of close interest in this country. I am very ready to admit that the hon. member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) is not actuated by personal motives in this matter, as we all know him to be a man of wide philanthropy. At the same time I must take exception to what he has said. I ask him where is the evidence of the abominations which he says have taken place in the Indian factories? No doubt some precautions are required for the fencing of machinery and for providing that the health of the operatives is duly cared for. But as to children being reduced to skeletons by the overwork to which they are subjected, I believe the evidence conclusively shows that there is nothing of the kind. They have a system of voluntary shifts by which the labour is shifted as they like and two or three persons do the work which is done by one in this country. The evils against which we have to guard are evils of another kind. The representatives of Lancashire manufacturers, in any case, are not the people to deal with this subject, because they are rival manufacturers, and——

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow) asked permission to make a personal observation. He had no interest whatever in Lancashire. He did not own one sixpence in any manufacturing business of any kind. He had never opened his lips to any Manchester man upon this subject, nor had any man approached him upon it. The only interest he had was a tripartite interest. He was interested in a firm, now a limited liability company, which sold Indian spinnings in India, which sell large quantities of American cotton goods in India, and large quantities of Lancashire cotton goods in India. He had moved in this matter for no other reason than that he believed horrible, abominable treatment of operatives went on in Indian factories—"barbarities" of which the *Times* spoke in a recent article.

Sir G. CAMPBELL thought at first, from the interruption, that he should have to apologize to his hon. friend. He had always thought his hon. friend had some Manchester business——

Mr. PROVAND: Having some Manchester business is very different from owning cotton mills.

The SPEAKER: Order, order!

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I never said my hon. friend had some mills, but I said he had some cotton interest. He tells us that he has such an interest and that he does export Lancashire manufactures for sale in India.

Mr. PROVAND: Ascertain your facts.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I thought he said to India. Well, sir, I will not be personal to my hon. friend, but I will say that it is Lancashire cotton people who press on the Government the necessity of restraining the manufactures of India. I am not surprised that the member for Oldham is not in a hurry to take part in this debate. He pressed on the Government the obligation of imposing on the people the regulations of the Berlin Conference from which India was really exempted by the distinction that was drawn between Northern and Southern manufacturers. On the other hand my hon. friend has been from the very first one of the most extreme in pressing the resolutions of the Berlin Conference upon India; yet he was one of those who objected to applying them to Lancashire. But I think my hon. friend the member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), has already dealt with that point; so I will not say more about it. But although I admit that there may be something in the position taken up by the Lancashire manufacturers, that they were subject to some restrictions while their Indian rivals were not, I say that we ought honestly to speak as rival manufacturers and not in the character of philanthropists; because I think that all the agitation has arisen from rivalry and not from philanthropy. I do not think any case has been made out of atrocities with regard to the work and labour of Indian men, women, and children, to which allusion has been made. I have no wish to enter into the details of these matters, but it seems to me that the Government of India have gone as far as they could reasonably go; and the Government of India in my opinion are the best judges in this matter. (A cry of "No.") They have approached it in a fair, candid, and honest spirit. They have looked to the interests of all parties. They have gone as far as they should go. They have done all that it is necessary to do, and the question is whether they have not gone a little too far in regard to the women of India. The member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) has suggested that this legislation may have an injurious effect upon the women of India. I say that that would be an enormous evil to India. Of all things we should try to bring forward the women of India, to give them an opportunity of getting work at fair wages, and thereby to raise themselves to a higher scale in the social system. Such an opportunity they have been getting in the Indian factories, and it is one which we should endeavour still more to develop. (Hear, hear.) What I say is that at the instigation of jealous Lancashire manufacturers to put any clogs or hindrances on such employment would be to do a very great injury to the people of India. I am free to admit, as the member for Edinburgh has said, that if the Government of India has not done more, it has not been for want of urging on the part of Her Majesty's Government. I do not think it was right or proper that Her Majesty's Government should have gone so far in the direction of the representations of the people of Lancashire in urging the Government of India to go further than the Government of India desired to go. The Under Secretary of State for India shakes his head; but I think, looking to the correspondence and the telegrams which have been quoted by the member for Edinburgh, that is the case, especially in view of the statements made by the First Lord of the Treasury and others—it is the case that Her Majesty's Government who very much depend on Lancashire votes did urge the Government of India to do a great deal more than they were willing to do. But a great deal of good has been done by the firmness of the Government of India in doing their duty to the people of India rather than accepting the views of Her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) There is only one point in the speech of the hon. member for Glasgow which I should like to correct. He said that the people of India do not know how to combine. Why, the people of India knew how to combine long before the people of this country. Trades Unions, combinations, strikes are a far more highly developed institution there than in this country. We who have known India for the last fifty years know that these strikes have long continued there, and that nowhere in the world have they been better organised. I was reading the other day the life of Sir Thomas Munro, and there I saw that in one case when the people were not satisfied with the land revenue assessment they combined together, and that so thoroughly, that he, the Governor of the country and his family, were almost starved, because they were so effectually boycotted that they could not get food. Therefore, it is not for my honourable friend to run away with the idea that these strikes and combinations had not been developed in India. I think the people of India in this respect are pretty well able to protect themselves. Well, sir, as I have said, I will not go into details. I decline to discuss the details in this House. But what I do say is this, that the conditions of India are totally and entirely different from the conditions of this country, and of every country in Europe. I say that the Conference of Berlin, wise as they were, feeling and knowing that they knew nothing about the conditions of life in India, entirely abstained from laying down any rules applicable to that country; and we, who know a good deal less than the members of that Conference, should not take that duty upon ourselves. Therefore, while not entering upon the details, I protest against our occupying this evening in the discussion of matters which are not matters for this House to decide, but for the Government of India to decide, and I hope that my hon. friend will not proceed further with his motion. (Cheers).

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I do not intend, Mr. Speaker, to make many remarks on this subject, because on former occasions I have spoken sufficiently about it already. But what has been said by the hon. member opposite makes me desire to say a word or two. The member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell) has suggested that I have been playing something of a dual character with regard to this question—that I took one view in respect to India and a different view in regard to Lancashire. Now, I have never pretended to have taken up this question of factory labour as a philanthropist. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, I have invariably advocated the restriction of the excessive hours of labour that factory operatives in India have to work on the ground that it was unfair that the operatives of this country should be exposed to competition of that kind. (Hear, hear.) It is quite true that we pressed the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State to take action in this matter—not on my own account so much as that I represented a large body of employers and factory operatives who had brought this matter in successive years to the notice of the Secretary of State. And I certainly thought that as a certain standard was being set up at the Conference of Berlin it was desirable that it should be set up for India as well as for other countries. But what was it that actually took place? We did not obtain from the Government of India the acceptance of the regulations laid down at the Conference of Berlin; and therefore I was perfectly free, when the question of the regulation of the labour of children in Lancashire was before this House, to take the line that it was impolitic to raise the age and reduce the hours of labour there when the Indian Government would not concede what had been laid down at Berlin. I do not think there was anything inconsistent in my action therefore in that respect. With regard to the motion of the hon. member for Glasgow, which he has not moved, I confess I think it is inopportune for a motion of that kind to be brought forward. I know a good deal about the way in which this movement has been conducted in England, and I have had no protests from the working men or the employers of Lancashire, since the new Indian Factory Act was passed, to amend that Act and carry on a fresh agitation. And I may say that my hon. friend the member for North-West Manchester (Sir W. H. Houldsworth) and myself, who have taken a most active interest in this matter in this House, consulted together when that Act was passed, and we determined that it was better to wait and see how it works before renewing the agitation for further restricting the hours of labour in India. Because, I desire to say, I have no unkindly or ungenerous feeling towards the mill industry of India. It would be most ungrateful of me, looking to what I owe to India, if I had any such feeling. I only ask for fair play for our own operatives. But I could not help considering after that Act was passed that there was a political aspect to this question. We know that the concessions which have been made, and they are very substantial concessions, have been wrung from the Government of India against their will. I do not hesitate to say boldly, that the Government of India behaved very badly in this matter—("no")—and that they encouraged the agitation of the millowners in India. But we are face to face with this declaration of the Government of India that if they were called upon to make larger concessions than they had made they would not answer for the consequences to the English people. Well, now that would have been a real danger, and I considered, and my friend the member for North-West Manchester considered, too, that it was better to be satisfied with the concessions we had already obtained, and to wait until the working of the new Factory Act showed both the millowners and the operatives of India that this improvement of the hours is better both for them and for the industry in which they are engaged, and then we may hope that further reforms will be made. (Cheers.) Having made these remarks, and as I think the only motion before the House is that you, Mr. Speaker, should leave the Chair, I shall be in order in calling attention to the subject of the motion which stands in my name.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): May I rise to order, sir? I have a notice on the paper which comes next.

The SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. gentleman has already spoken on the main question.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH: But may I submit, as a point of order, that I simply rose to make an explanation in reference to a question, to an allusion which the hon. member for Edinburgh made to a question of mine? I merely rose under the belief that I was quite in order in alluding to it, and that it would not debar me from bringing on the motion standing in my name.

The SPEAKER: It is a well-established rule. The hon. member is quite out of order in speaking again on the main question. The hon. gentleman spoke, and I was surprised at his intervening, knowing that he had a motion on the paper; but there is no rule for his speaking again.

Mr. MACLEAN (resuming): I will now proceed, Mr. Speaker, to make some observations on a very important question really affecting the financial relations of India. My hon. friend, the member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell) said he hoped this night would not be wasted in discussing all sorts of extraneous questions so that no question really affecting the finances of India would be brought before the House. I wish to call attention to a very important matter really affecting the finances of India. I would point out in the first place how very serious a burden the present great military expenditure is upon the people of India, and then I would suggest a way by which, in my opinion at all events, any increase of that very heavy expenditure would be avoided. Now, at the outset I should like to soothe any alarm that might be created on the opposite benches or amongst the Liberal party in the country at the mere mention of the name of Candahar. I have no intention of suggesting more than that it is desirable to extend the railway as far as Candahar. I have no intention of reviving old controversies, still less have I any aggressive purpose in my mind. But I think that in the interests of commerce, not only of India and of Afghanistan, but of this country also, it would be extremely desirable to extend the railway system as far as Candahar. That is the simple motive of the resolution which I have put upon the paper. Now, I daresay many members are hardly aware of the extraordinary burdens which the present system of frontier policy imposes on the taxpayers of India. No doubt, the state of the Indian finances is at present excellent; and I do not think that anybody could improve upon the way in which the accounts are submitted to this House. (Hear, hear.) There is, especially in the explanatory statement of the Secretary of State for India, a balance sheet presented which is most satisfactory to all who are interested in that country, because it shows that there are actually in India tangible assets representing the

whole of the liabilities of that country with the exception of about £38,000,000 sterling, or rather less than one year's revenue. We may therefore say that the condition of India is now very flourishing, and that is further shown by the very large revenue now derived from the railways, whose total revenue has yielded an interest of about $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the whole of the capital invested in railway lines. (Hear, hear.) We also see from the Budgets presented by Sir David Palmer to the Legislative Council, that the surpluses increase from year to year far beyond his estimate. There is a most remarkable instance in the revenue accounts for the year which has just expired—1890-91. In March of last year the surplus was estimated at £270,400. I use the word "pounds" because it is a more familiar notation to this House than tens of rupees. Last year the Under Secretary told us that the estimated surplus had increased to £1,870,000. In March of this year it was estimated to be £2,787,100, and in August of this year the surplus for the financial year just expired has risen to the very large sum of £3,665,000, instead of about a quarter of a million as originally estimated. I see also that the Budget estimate for this year, which showed a surplus of £115,000, has already increased in spite of the Manipur events to £395,000. These are very remarkable figures and I think that they show that the Finance Minister has systematically underrated the flourishing condition of the revenues of the country. If I may offer a suggestion, possibly his reason is this, that he is afraid that if he told the Legislative Council of India what was the real state of the finance of the country, the whole of the surplus would be seized and swallowed up in the devouring gulf of military expenditure. (Hear, hear.) That military expenditure has increased since the close of the Afghan war, and has been almost entirely due to the extraordinary expenses incurred in securing what is called a strategical frontier on the North-West of the country. I find from figures given on pp. 40 and 41, that the average military expenditure before the Afghan War might be taken at about £17,000,000. The total since the Afghan War is £216,124,000, so that we have an increased expenditure since the Afghan War, in eleven years, over the normal expenditure, of about £29,000,000. The special defence works amount to £4,663,000, and the amount expended on strategic railways amounts to £9,500,000 so that we have got an extra expenditure in 12 years of £43,287,000. You have to add to that about a million of money which has been paid in subsidies to the Ameer of Afghanistan, so that you get a total of £44,000,000 for the eleven years, or about £4,000,000 a year increased expenditure for military purposes since the Afghan War. This sum would have been greatly increased had it not been for the fact of the conclusion of the Afghan War. Still since that time, when we thought that the military expenditure might have decreased, it has suddenly been increased by outlay on the plan of frontier defence adopted by the Indian Government. At the present moment we may assume that the increase is £6,000,000 a year over the expenditure which was experienced before the Afghan War. This is as near an estimate as I can form of the total sum that was spent by the Indian Government on these purposes We are forced to this conclusion that the armed peace which we have now is very nearly as costly as the Afghan War was, and which was condemned as an extravagant waste of money. This policy which is being pursued in India was not deliberately adopted by the Indian Government, but it was forced upon them contrary to Indian opinion, and the feeling of the people of this country. We know that the Indian authorities were anxious when they were once established at Candahar to remain there. The opinion of the military authorities in India was that if we had a force constantly stationed there and connected by railway communication with India, that no invading army would venture to pass that force without risking an engagement. The force would be stationed against an invading army, and it would have to be turned aside before that force could engage the Indian force, or before they could continue the work of invasion. The opinion of this country forced the Indian Government to abandon Candahar, and I am not going to become a judge of that action. But look at the consequences that ensued. We have formed a vast camp at Quettah; we have made roads and railways through various passes along the frontier, and every year this expenditure goes on. Naturally the appetite for that sort of expenditure grows with what it feeds upon. The military engineers no sooner make one pass secure than they discover another by which they can be taken in flank, and then an immense outcry is raised about the necessity of further defence, and so they go on from year to year. There are probably 300 passes through this range of mountains, and we can see what an enormous military expenditure would be involved is we were to defend this immense range of mountains. It is a far more formidable task than France has taken in hand in fortifying her Eastern frontier against Germany. This frontier, from Cashmere down to the Persian Gulf, covers in the bee line, I should say, fully 1,000 miles. Where are you going to get the troops to defend that immense frontier line? It would take four or five times the troops we have in India to accomplish a work of that kind. The Indian Government, knowing that state of the case, are actually resorting to the hazardous experiment of allowing levies to be made by Native chiefs, under British officers, to supplement the Native army under our own control in India. I say this is a very hazardous experiment because you have troops which could only be employed in keeping the communications open, and in time of danger if any disaster were suffered these troops would be the cause of infinite mischief to our rule in India. But even when all this is done I find that the Indian military authorities still believe that, if any hostilities were to break out on the frontier, they would be obliged to send a force in advance to Candahar, that they could not allow the enemy to approach this frontier, which is such a marvel of scientific strategy. No doubt whatever that is what would have to be done. Where have we gone with this wonderful railway system of ours? We have pushed it forward not only as far as Quettah, but we have just pierced the range of mountains with a tunnel which is about seventy miles from Candahar. It is almost incredible that the policy should have been adopted by a strong and far-seeing Government such as the Indian Government of not carrying forward this railway. They pierce a range of mountains and get a frontier line on the other side, and there is then only seventy miles of intervening country between the end of that tunnel and Candahar; but the Government will not advance a single mile further towards Afghanistan than Quettah. I remember the speech of my right hon. friend, the Under Secretary for India two or three years ago, in which he assured the House that he would welcome with the greatest gratitude the proposition that not a single soldier would be allowed to advance through the tunnel until war was declared. Look at the feeling which the Ameer of Afghanistan must entertain towards the people who act in this way. We have materials actually stored to carry the railway as far as Candahar, but the Ameer is told that this project will only be carried out if war ensues. If the Russians, for instance, invade Afghanistan, or if Afghanistan should in any way act against our rule, we should then take the course of constructing this railway to Candahar. The natural consequence of a policy of that kind is that the Ameer looks upon the railway as a standing menace. It seems to him a vast military engine always held in readiness to crush him if he shows the smallest symptom of independence. Why should we not make some attempt to show him that instead of that the railway is a beneficial institution which will develop the resources of his country, and make him a much richer man, and his people much more prosperous and contented than they now are. This is the change which I ask to be made in the policy of India towards Afghanistan. I say that we are making a very great mistake indeed when we shut ourselves in, as it were, behind a Chinese wall on our North-west frontier; when we say that we will never carry civilization beyond those mountains, and that we will leave the Afghans in a state of anarchy; and that this country, which has been formerly given over as a part of our sphere by Russia, shall never be invaded by a single English merchant or trader. I say that that is a pusillanimous and short-sighted policy which can do no good to our empire in India. It was not by a policy of that kind that we gained India, and it is not by a policy of that kind that we can hope to retain it. This empire was built up first by the efforts of daring adventurers, who, when they once planted their foot in a country, obtained the support of the government for carrying out their designs. Although private individuals have done the beginning of the work still we have always seen that popular opinion in this country, moved by a strong commercial instinct, has supported with its armies and its fleets those private individuals until we gained the complete control of India. This commercial spirit has lasted from the stormy days of the great Elizabeth down to our own time, it has been the strongest power in the government of this country. I dare say that of late years a change has taken place in that respect, the commercial spirit has been superseded largely by the industrial spirit. Looking back to a generation ago I find that a Committee of the House of Commons—a very strong Committee—had no hesitation in proposing that a guarantee should be given for the construction of a railway right across from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and this vast design was approved of by the men of a past generation. But now-a-days political power is dwelling almost entirely in the hands of the working classes, and the majority of the men who live by manual labour. Of course I except the intelligent artizans, who know how much depends upon the extension of trade with foreign countries, and how largely and immediately their own interest is connected with that extension; but the majority of the working men who live on weekly wages naturally want the foresightedness or courage to undertake vast or comprehensive designs for the extension of our empire, or for the benefit of trade. The horizon of their hopes and fears extends a very short way beyond their own cottage doors. No doubt it is very desirable in many respects we should call attention to the improvement in the condition of the working classes, but at the same time we ought not to abandon those great commercial designs which have always been the source of the wealth and the power of England. Now I maintain that, if we were to approach the Ameer of Afghanistan in a very different spirit to that in which we have dealt with him in the last ten years, we should find him open to reasonable representations as to the advantages of developing commerce between his country and India and England. Though I daresay hon. members are not aware of what is the present condition of trade between India and Afghanistan, it shows very little signs of developing in any direction, and the risk is severe because the Russians on the north of Afghanistan push their railways right through their part of the country, which brings them within their sphere of influence. The region of Merv is becoming already under their influence as prosperous and fertile as it was in the old days, because railways in Asia carry with them everywhere cultivation and population; and you will soon see, under the rule of Russia, those countries become, as they were in former days, flourishing, and once more worthy of their old reputations. What is the position of England in the face of a competition like that? Russia can take down her goods cheaply to the very frontier of Afghanistan; we pause at our own frontier, and refuse to adopt the means available for carrying out the development of our trade. If the railway were completed right up to Candahar we could carry goods to Afghanistan as cheaply as can Russia, and as cheaply as we can place them in the capital of the Punjab. If the Ameer were approached by the Indian Government he might be induced to relax the differential charge put on English goods and not continue to give preferential duties to Russian goods. Mr. O'Conor, a very able member of the Statistical Department in India—really the Board of Trade in India—referred to this subject in a paper which he issued, and he states that the Afghans imposed restrictions on English trade when they gave facilities to the trade of Russia. This is the action of our subsidised ally, whose foreign policy is supposed to be entirely under our control. He gives the preference in every way he can to Russian trade, and shuts out English goods as far as possible. How can you rely on a man who does that when the day of trial comes? I say that, unless we can establish perfect relations with the Ameer of Afghanistan, we had better beware, for the time will come when he will turn out to be our enemy rather than our friend. To show that the views I hold are not merely those of a member of the Conservative party, perhaps I may be allowed to quote a passage I came across this morning in reading the very excellent book of Sir Charles Dilke, "Greater Britain." Sir C. Dilke in his chapters on India deals with this question of the relations between India and Afghanistan, and the House will remember that at that time he was the guest of Sir Frederick Roberts and enjoyed his entire confidence. In the observations, therefore, which he makes on the subject of this country he is not at all antagonistic to the real wishes of those who are in authority in India. Sir Charles Dilke says, speaking

of the strong desire to occupy Candahar, that he deprecates an advance to this place before the Russians have taken Herat. But he adds that, of course, if the Ameer could be brought to see either for trade or other reasons that the railway to Candahar should be completed, then that line should be made at once. That is all I ask the House to say, and I am very much mistaken if the Ameer himself would not be inclined to listen favourably to any advance of that kind, because he is a man with keen trading instincts. The Afghan race are not mere brutal villagers, they are men of a high type; and certainly possess the money-getting propensities of the people with whom they are akin. The Ameer lately has taken some steps of his own accord to show that he is alive to any business relations with people who can show how to make his country more prosperous, and therefore more productive of revenue to himself. Sir Charles Dilke mentions in his book that he welcomed the captain who was sent out by the Government of India to report on the mineral deposits of his country. Recently he has taken a still more decided step. In this circumstance an English resident in Bombay was sent by the Government of India to Cabul to initiate the Afghans into making cartridges and rifles, and after he had been there a short time the Afghans expressed a wish to enter into much wider business relations with him. Eventually the Ameer welcomed the representatives of the Englishman's firm—Messrs. Walsh and Martin—who were treated with the greatest kindness and distinction by the Ameer's officials en route to Cabul on their way to establish relationships there. I think that shows that there is an opening in Afghanistan for the development of peaceful commercial intercourse with that country. I hope that the Indian Government may be induced to open negotiations for the purpose of improving such intercourse. I desire that this railway should be extended to Candahar, and that it should be placed if necessary under the Ameer's own control when it enters his territory, so that he need not be afraid in any way of English designs. I hope that this railway will be constructed not only in the interests of trade with Afghanistan, but that it may be the first step towards opening up inter-communication by land between Europe and India. This is a design which will have to be entered upon some day, if not under English auspices under the auspices of some foreign power. While we have three or four different trans-continental lines travelling over the whole of the New World of America from east to west, the Old World still remains undeveloped, although the route from Candahar to Herat and Bagdad up to the confines of the Mediterranean is one of the most ancient and famous highways of commerce in the world. I hope that what I have said to-night may have some influence with the commercial people of this country, and that it may move them to take action in the matter; and that the Imperial Government of India may be induced to adopt a policy in regard to Afghanistan worthier of a nation which has always been regarded as the first commercial country in the world. I move the resolution which stands in my name: "That, in the opinion of this House, the present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character; and that in the interests of the trade of both countries it is desirable to extend the Indian railway system as far as Candahar."

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE (North Kensington): Mr. Speaker, I rise to second the motion of my hon. friend the member for Oldham, and I think both India and England are grateful to the hon. gentleman for bringing this question before the House, and for pressing it very seriously upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government. I do not quite agree with some of the remarks in which my hon. friend has indulged with regard to the increase in our military expenditure of late years. But it must of course be admitted that since the close of the Afghan War the military expenditure of India has shown a certain tendency to increase. But I must remind my hon. friend that the true state of that increase is not since the Afghan War, but from the period when Lord Dufferin's Government determined that there should no longer be a sense of unrest and disquiet with regard to our North-West frontier, but that the North-West frontier should be put at once and for ever in a secure position. I think the Indian Government, was quite right in taking that most important decision. I think that the people of India, equally with the people of England entirely approve of that decision. The expenditure is not in the nature of an aggressive expenditure or of an ordinary military expenditure, but it is strictly in the nature of an insurance expenditure. It insures us not only from the possibilities, but I might even say the probabilities of aggression and invasion. It insures us, and further insures the Government of India also, from those periodical scares which we all know have occurred from time to time and have become more and more recurrent within the memory of every one of us. Sir, I think the expenditure which is laid out upon these frontier railways and upon the securing of the frontier is an expenditure that will in future lead to a reduction of expenditure. It is a wise expenditure which leads to economy in future. Having said that much with regard to the military expenditure on our North-Western frontier in India, I do wish to express my entire concurrence with my hon. friend in what he said with regard to the extension of our great Indian Railway System into Afghanistan, as far as Candahar. There can be no doubt whatever, that at the present moment we have brought up the terminus to what my hon. friend calls the hole in the wall. We have constructed at very great expense this magnificent tunnel through the range of mountains that separate us from Candahar, which is not far from the mouth of the tunnel on the other side. The end of the tunnel is within easy reach of some of the most fertile portion of Afghanistan. Some of the best tracts of that country can be easily reached from the tunnel. Yet after constructing this tunnel, after making this hole in the wall, we have left our railway to end in nothing and nowhere. It is obvious that we could carry the railway to Candahar. And I would ask the House to remember that Candahar is not merely a place of arms, but it is, and has been from time immemorial, a place of trade, and in earlier times it was a place where there was a very great trade to all parts of Central Asia. I say that if the railway is carried on to a place of this immense strategical importance, and also of immense commercial importance, the Government of India will have deserved well not only of its subjects in India, which is of course the first consideration, and rightly the first consideration, but will also deserve well of the commercial community of this country. And I am glad Mr. Speaker, that my hon. friend the member for Oldham has to-night impressed upon the commercial community of this country that it is of the very greatest importance to the trade of this country, always needing new outlets, that the trade of Central Asia should be secured, and it can be secured by the comparatively small extension which has been advocated by my hon. friend. I hope that the commercial community of this country will take notice especially of the figures which have been indicated by my hon. friend with regard to the present earnings of Indian railways. My hon. friend pointed out that their average earnings is something like $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the capital invested in them. If that is the amount of their present earnings we all know that the future earnings of these railways must surpass the dreams of avarice, for many of these pass through a country as thickly populated and as fertile in resources as any country in the world. Railway extension, not only in the direction indicated by my right hon. friend, but railway extension in general, is needed in India. The hon. member for Hythe asked some very pregnant questions on this point. And I was glad to observe some short time ago that Her Majesty's Government, without pledging themselves to any particular concession, did appear to lend a favourable ear to the representations of the hon. member for Hythe. The point to which the hon. member for Hythe drew attention was this, that there are enormous tracts of territory in India that are at present separated from each other by short lines on the broad gauge. The hon. member for Hythe pointed out that by simply laying down a third rail these lines could be made available for an interchange of traffic from every part of India. Such a development of railway traffic would be an important means of preventing famine. The report of the Famine Commission drew the special attention of the Government of India to this subject. The hon. member for Hythe's is only one of a large number of similar suggestions that have been made. I submit that this railway extension is entirely justified by the finances of India, and that, if carried out while the finances of India will permit of it, it will produce the most valuable effects for the future in enriching the country. I should like to quote from a pamphlet issued by a very distinguished member of the Public Works Department of India. Sir Arthur Cotton is known as the father of irrigation works in India. He is also known as a distinguished authority on Indian railways and their extension.

The SPEAKER: It is not the question of the public railways of India which is now before the House, but only the North-West extension.

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE: Sir, I will leave that part of the question, and I will merely venture to indicate that the connection that I was endeavouring to draw between the general extension of the railways of India and the motion before the House. But I will not pursue that branch of the subject except to say that Sir Arthur Cotton's opinion entirely justifies the views put forward by my hon. friend as to the extraordinarily fructifying results that ensue from railway extension. As soon as a railway is constructed in India, trade follows, the land is tilled, the population increases largely, and that would happen, I venture respectfully to suggest to the House, in this particular extension to Candahar, just as it happens in other parts of India. I rose to second the motion, not so much from the military as the commercial point of view. Therefore, I hope that Her Majesty's Government will receive the suggestion that has been thrown out by my hon. friend, and will do their best to give it consideration, when they will see that commercial results of the very highest importance both to India and to this country are likely to result from the construction of this extension.

Sir R. TEMPLE (Evesham, Worcester): Mr. Speaker, the motion is limited to the extension of the railway to Candahar—that means from the mouth of the tunnel to Candahar. Between the mouth of the tunnel and Candahar there is about seventy miles of flat country. Though I do not rise to support the motion, yet I wish to speak of it sympathetically. I know every inch of the ground over which it is proposed to extend the line. In 1879 I made a rough survey of that section of the railway to Candahar, or it was made by my officers under my supervision. The line is extremely easy to make, and it could have been made well in the year 1880-1. In fact, if my memory serves me rightly, I submitted proposals to the Viceroy of India in 1882 for a railway to Candahar. But a General Election came, and with that a change of Government, and a change of policy and opinion. The railway hung fire for a short time—that is, the railway to Candahar. But as far as the range of mountains it was completed, and instead of making a circuit to skirt the mountains, my anticipations were exceeded by the making of the tunnel. This country has completed a very great enterprise indeed. Moreover it will be a grand factor in the policy of the future. Now my hon. friend the member for Oldham (Mr. J. Maclean) proposes the construction of the line from the end of the tunnel to Candahar, a distance not of seventy but eighty or ninety miles, for military, financial, commercial, and industrial purposes. I quite admit this is a project of great consequence, and if the hon. member could succeed in inducing the Afghans to agree to the undertaking, he will have effected a great alteration in the manners and customs of that people. I hardly hope to live to see that accomplished, though discussions in this House and this country may indirectly tend to bring about the accomplishment of the desirable object. The trade, of course, is important, though insignificant compared with the external trade of the Indian Empire. But if the enterprise is to be undertaken, who is to find the money? Will the Indian Government? Will private enterprise? Certainly not. If the Government of India is not prepared to undertake the enterprise, still less will it offer a guarantee. And supposing the reluctance of the Ameer were overcome, would he be able to afford the money? I

suppose there are very few treasuries so poor as that of the Ameer of Afghanistan. Then what would be the political effect on the mind of the Afghans on seeing this railway entering their territory? Would not the Ameer be likely to regard the approach of the Iron Horse as the harbinger of our authority, and would not he say: "It is all very well, but what is to become of me and my authority?" But with regard to the political necessity of this extension, I am sure that its importance is not over exaggerated. All that remains is to pass the country some eighty or ninety miles across, which is comparatively level, and across which a railway could be run for temporary military purposes. Undoubtedly, if war were to break out between England and Russia in a struggle for Empire in Asia the first step taken by British commanders would be to run a temporary line to Candahar, as part of our military operations. If we were to extend the railway to Candahar, we must always remember that some further extensions would be proposed. Will the House kindly bear in mind that as we have been extending towards Candahar, Russia has been extending towards Herat; and any further movement of ours to Candahar would provoke Russia to move further towards Herat. Whether she could penetrate to Herat without affording a *casus belli* to us may be a question, but at all events they could have some sort of approach to Herat from the Russian end, if we approached to Candahar. These are difficult questions, and exactly the sort of sleeping dogs of politics one is anxious to let lie for a time. Heaven knows how long they will remain dormant; they might at any day be excited into anger. I would only point out that when you propose an expansion of the British Empire you must expect a similar expansion on the part of our rivals. I admit fully that Candahar is one of the most important positions in India. It has enormous advantages. In the first place it is surrounded by land in splendid cultivation, and with the most perfect irrigation in the world. Therefore, it is a place which can feed and support a large army for an indefinite time. It has also the most beautiful water supply possible. Above all, it is one of the most commanding positions in all Asia because it lies on the very high road from North Asia to India; and it has been the highway for ages of all the conquerors, politicians and armies from century to century. Now, Candahar being the key to this main line of this communication—a communication that has lasted for thousands of years, Candahar must be deemed in itself as of great advantage. On its left is a desert by which it cannot be approached, and on its right is the breast of the mountains. On neither side can its flank be turned. An army passing through Central Asia to India must pass Candahar, and therefore the strong point to keep in view is to have a good position in Candahar. We might, during the time of peace endeavour to lay the foundation of the policy of making Candahar not only a stronghold, but an outpost of the British Empire against the coming day of Imperial danger.

The Hon. G. N. CURZON (Southport): Mr. Speaker, both the Ameer of Afghanistan and the Indian Government stand in a position of very great delicacy. The Ameer is undoubtedly a remarkable man—of haughty, imperious and truculent character, and very jealous indeed of outside interference. His rule over his people is a rule of fear and not of love. The very fact that his life has been attempted more than once shows that he is not popular with a large number of his people. Still, it is by no means clear that this method of carrying trade to his country is not the best for him and his people. During the eleven years of his rule, he has consolidated the Afghan dominions to an extent which was thought at one time incredible. During that he has crushed and stamped out insurrection, and I am not aware that in the whole period he has shown any disloyalty to the British Crown. He is in a very difficult position. He has to fulfil all his engagement to the Indian Government, and at the same time to feel that he is treating on equal terms. But I believe the relations between the Ameer and the Viceroy are on the whole satisfactory. In the eleven years we have saved Afghanistan from internecine disorder, and from insurrection. Now, I wish to say a few words with regard to extending the railway to Candahar. In the first place as the hon. member who has just spoken has justly pointed out, it would immediately excite the jealousy and hostility of Russia which would be followed by a corresponding movement on the other side. At the present moment it is a fact that Russia boldly obstructed the railway the branch line of which was not begun. But, in so far as that has taken place, it is perfectly ridiculous to think of an advance upon Russian territory. But the same condition does not hold in respect to this railway which has already been spoken of. It stops at the extreme point of the British territory. The Ameer of Afghanistan has looked with the utmost jealousy upon the extension of our railway to the point reached. As regards the larger question of our trade relations with Afghanistan I am not quite in agreement with what I believe to be the position of the hon. member. Occupying the position we do in Central Asia we ought to have under our control at any rate a very large trade. We ought to be enabled to import the chief part of our products into Afghanistan and afterwards into the surrounding territory. It would no doubt be true that we would meet the competition of Russia backed up by prohibiting tariffs but, at the same time, it should be remembered we could bring in goods in which they could not compete with us. The returns of the export trade show a decrease of about three million rupees in three years. Although the figures of the past year show an increase in another direction yet the trade in this case has not increased within the last four years, whilst the trade in India and China tea—almost the whole trade being in China tea—is smaller than it was in the past. To what is that due? It is due, no doubt, to a certain extent to Russian competition pushed from the direction of the Caspian. But, more than anything else, it is due to the illiberal fiscal system adopted by the Ameer of Afghanistan. Would it be believed that the Ameer of Afghanistan charges £2 2s. upon every cwt. of tea carried from India? The Ameer also levies a tax of 80 rupees or £5 13s. 4d. on every camel load going through. The whole of Central Asia is dependent on tea passing through from China or Assam. This cumulative system of tariffs is an intolerable barrier, checking progress between India and Central Asia, and, it is going to open up the traffic for Russia, which, but for this illiberal policy, we would be able to enjoy. If the Ameer were an independent foreign Sovereign negotiating a commercial treaty with India on the same terms as he might do with Germany or France or Spain, I could understand his ability or right to decide what he as Sovereign would desire. He might say "I am Sovereign and would desire to develop the trade of my country." But as Ameer he is not in a position to take that line of action. Afghanistan is not an independent State. The Ameer of Afghanistan is a British vassal. He owes his throne and position to us. We have supplied him ever since with a yearly salary of twelve lacs of rupees, and have supplied him further with munitions of war which have enabled him to hold his position. We have given him that moral support without which his tenure of the throne would not be worth six months' purchase. I say his is an illiberal and intolerable system, and, with due regard to certain susceptibilities, the very strongest pressure ought to be brought to bear upon him by the Indian Government to relax their fiscal system which I have been describing, and give fair play to Indian commerce. I would say in conclusion that the policy which I have been advocating is a policy of no oppression. It is only part and parcel of the policy which has been pursued all along the Indian frontier. Along that frontier there is a belt of mountains inhabited by wild savage tribes who are not Afghans. They have never expressed allegiance to the Ameer—they are independent tribes. Our policy at the beginning of this century has passed through so many phases that it is likely to recoil again. There was the policy of masterly inactivity, which was a most imbecile policy. Both of the preceding policies having failed, they have been succeeded by a truer and wiser policy, which may be described voluntary co-operation, by which these mountain tribes are being gradually welded and knit into an empire. (Hear, hear.)

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: From the former part of the speech of the member for Oldham (Mr. J. Maclean) I felt that I agreed with him; but when the hon. member for Southport (Mr. Curzon) came to speak of the new Indian frontier, I felt I must differ from him. He tells us there are tribes there who are not Afghans at all. I venture to tell him that in every sense of the word they are the purest Afghans. In fact, the greater part of the real and true Afghans in language and character are those tribes that lie between our frontier and the frontier of the Ameer of Afghanistan.

Mr. CURZON: The tribes of which I spoke are not, and have not for years been subject to the Ameer of Afghanistan. The fact is, the majority of them are not Afghans in sympathy, and, at the present moment, the Ameer has no more power over these tribes than the hon. member himself has.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Well, we will not dispute about words. It is true they are not subject to the Ameer of Afghanistan, but the Ameer rules over the larger number of Afghans, and those tribes from the Blue Mountains and far below are of the purest Afghan type. What I complain of is that we are advancing by miserable means to try and conquer those people, and bring them under our control by force of arms—that we are following out the policy of bringing those Afghan tribes under our control by force of arms. The Afghans are a very independent race. If you attempt to bring them under control by force you may make them rise, and will probably in every way defeat the object which the hon. gentleman sets forth. As regards the Ameer of Afghanistan and those frontier tribes, I very much agree with the hon. member for Oldham. Our relations with Afghanistan are extremely unsatisfactory at the present moment. I am not disposed to complain that I have had no opportunity of moving the motion which stands in my name, because the hon. member for Oldham has not only given me an opportunity of speaking on the subject, but has proved my case. What is the remedy the hon. member has spoken of? He would need to go further back and learn by the lesson on which we spent so much money that we had better not try the same thing again. Our relations with Afghanistan are most unsatisfactory, and they are unsatisfactory because we cannot let Afghanistan alone. It is one of those countries like the hedgehog, the more you touch it the more it bristles, and the more trouble you will have. I believe, if instead of giving facilities to Russia to approach us we leave that natural barrier which God has given between ourselves and Russia, if the Russians attempt to advance to us they will have to advance through difficulties so great, and will find the Afghans so inhospitable, that if they reach our frontier they will do so in a diminished and very weak condition. No doubt we are a very commercial people and have created a magnificent commerce which it is desirable should be promoted but, I say all the commerce you can get into Central Asia is worthless trumpery and unworthy of the attention of this country. I believe that the idea of penetrating through those Afghan countries between the Indus and the Oxus is a delusion and a snare which would lead to a great expenditure of money and possible political complications. To wipe out and obliterate that barrier which God has placed in front of our Indian Empire might enable Russia to attack us instead of enabling our troops to attack Russia. Therefore, I for one desire to deprecate very much the measures which have been taken to advance the Indian frontier into the territory of the Afghan tribes. In my view it is a mistake altogether, and it will be much better to keep our own frontier, to make the best of the frontier we have, to make the Indians an industrious and docile people, to restrain our troops and not send them amongst those tribes, to restrain our commercial men who wish to send their commerce there and who wish to appropriate to their petty trade all those countries.

Sir JOHN GORST: I should be sorry to attempt to act as arbitrator between two such authorities as the hon. member for Kircaldy and the hon. member for Southport. But as regards the description of that policy the Indian Government has not interfered with those tribes in attempting any territorial acquisition or in attempting any extension of the frontier of India further than at present. But the object has been to bring those independent tribes into friendly relations with the British Empire, so that they might become guards and protectors of our frontier. It is quite true that in pursuance of a policy of this kind occasional outbreaks on the frontier

will take place. In the course of last year there were outbreaks of that kind in the Black Mountain to which the hon. member for Kirkcaldy has alluded. But these are the necessary and natural incidents which happen in the pursuit of our policy. (Sir G. Campbell: Hear, hear.) Well, the hon. member utters an ironical hear hear, but you cannot carry on a policy on a great frontier like that, with a number of independent, half-civilised tribes, without occasional outbreaks and occasional differences; but the policy which is pursued is a policy, not of war, but of peace. These frontier wars are the failures, the occasional failures of our policy, and the true representation of the character of the system pursued by the Government of India upon the North-Western frontier is that it is one of pacification and friendship. But I suppose that episode was introduced by the hon. member for Kirkcaldy rather in pursuance of the amendment of which he had given notice, and it is only partially germane to the question which has been raised and debated during the last hour. That question, I understand to be, whether it is expedient that some attempt or other should now be made by the Government of India to extend the Scinde Pishin railway to Candahar. Now I am not at all insensible of the strategical advantages of Candahar, and I do not want to raise the old controversy of many years ago as to whether it was wise or unwise to retire from Candahar when we occupied it. That is a matter on which a good deal was said at the time and I do not know that I need express any repentance for the opinions which members of the government in common with many other members on this side of the House expressed upon that occasion. But it is one thing to remain at Candahar when you are there and when you have a military right to its occupation; it is another thing to attempt to return there when you have surrendered the position, when you have retired to a frontier sixty or seventy miles away, and when it would be represented with great truth that anything like a forcible attempt to return to Candahar would be a great breach of faith. I should be very sorry were the House to assent to the motion which my hon. friend the member for Oldham has made, if it was only for the statement that the "present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character." I understand that to mean, and I suppose people generally will understand that to mean that the relations of the Government of India with the Ameer of Cabul were now of an unsatisfactory character. Nothing could be further from the real facts of the case. I do not think that the relations between the Government of India and the Ameer of Cabul have at any time during the last seven years been of an unsatisfactory character.

Mr. MACLEAN (Oldham): I beg my right hon. friend's pardon. I did not mean to say that the personal relations with the Ameer of Cabul were unsatisfactory, but that the permanent conditions of our policy in relation to Afghanistan seem to me very unsatisfactory and ought to be changed.

Sir JOHN GORST: I am glad that the hon. member has made that disclaimer, because I am afraid that the language of the resolution is equivocal; and I should be very sorry that it should have been given out to the world at large that any party or section in this House thought that these relations were of an unsatisfactory character. Now whatever complaint other persons may have a right to make against the Ameer of Cabul the British Government has none. He has kept faith with us, and as far as his stipulations in the relations which have existed between us go he has been perfectly true to his engagements. I was rather sorry to hear in the admirable speech which was made by my hon. friend the Member for Southport (Mr. Curzon), with almost every word of which I agreed, that he should have thought it necessary to attack the Ameer's fiscal policy, for the House has nothing whatever to do with that policy. The Ameer is not a vassal of the Queen-Empress. The Ameer has always been recognised by the Queen-Empress as an independent ally, whom we protect and whom we assist, but over whom and over whose territory we have no right to exercise any jurisdiction whatever. It is quite true that he is subsidised by the Government of India. Why is he so subsidised? In order that he may be militarily strong. The object of the money which is given to him is that his military strength should be kept up, and I believe that the funds which he receives from the Indian Exchequer are applied to the purpose for which they are given. Then we have no right whatever to interfere with his fiscal policy. The fiscal policy which he pursues may from the enlightened Western ideas of political economy be an extremely unwise one. We know in the Western part of civilisation the folly of transport duties, and I do not expect that we will ever have these in our country; but the levying of transport duties has been the Universal experience among Oriental races, and if we have succeeded in putting down transport duties in India it has only been by friendly agreement with the independent native States, almost all of which did at one time levy them. But so far as the fiscal action of the Ameer is concerned he is independent. He is only bound to consult us in reference to his foreign policy and we have no right whatever to meddle with his fiscal policy or with the internal policy by which he governs his dominions, however much we may disapprove, in our supposed greater enlightenment, of the policy he pursues. But the Ameer is directing his attention at the present moment to commercial enterprise, I am very happy to be able to confirm the hon. member for Oldham in his statement that the Ameer is making great efforts to start manufactures at Cabul. It is a very interesting phase of life to watch the Ameer, who has greatly improved in health, as I daresay the whole House will be glad to hear, in this work. He has appointed as many as seven Europeans residing in his capital for the purpose of promoting manufactures. An enterprising commercial potentate, such as the Ameer is, no doubt will find out the value of a railway to Candahar as an addition to his resources, but I am not at all sure that an expression of opinion by this House that such a railway ought to be made, or that an expression of opinion from the Government of India that it was desirable that a railway should be made, would not in many ways prevent the accomplishment of that purpose. The character of the Ameer has been described, and it is quite true that he is extremely jealous; and that he has shown extreme jealousy of anything like an interference with his independence. There could be no better instance of that than that alluded to by the hon. member for Southport, the negotiations that took place with respect to the extension of the railway. The Government of India never dreamed that they had no right to extend the railway; the Ameer never pretended that the Government of India had not the right to extend the railway to the very verge of their territory; and the negotiations that went on and the correspondence that took place related to the particular point at which British Indian territory ended and Afghan territory began. The railway as now made is in our own territory. But if we were to attempt to carry the railway a little out of our territory and into Afghan territory, there would no doubt be the very strongest remonstrance if not more on the part of the Ameer, and he would be able very justly to say that though he had kept faith with us we had not kept faith with him. If anyone wants to see a railway made to Candahar as a matter of commerce or as a matter of defence, I am afraid the only way in which it can be made is by patiently waiting until the Ameer sees its advantages. I was rather surprised to hear the hon. member for Oldham complain of the tunnel having been made. I should have thought that he would have considered that the Government of India deserved the very greatest credit for having made that tunnel. He says it leads nowhere. It leads to the fertile plains of Candahar, and there is at the present moment the door of India open to Afghanistan and the whole of Central Asia. They can readily come into that door for commercial purposes, and the construction and opening of the railway adds greatly to the facility of access which all the tribes of Central Asia have to the commerce of India. I hope I have made it sufficiently clear to the House that my objection and the objection of the Government to the amendment of the hon. member for Oldham is, first that they do not like to express so equivocal a sentiment as that "the relations between India and Afghanistan are now of an unsatisfactory character," and that they do not consider it would be good policy in the interests of the British Empire, which the hon. member for Oldham himself confesses is his object, that this House should take upon itself to express an opinion that it is for the intrests of both countries that the Indian railway system should be extended as far as Candahar. For these reasons I must oppose the adoption of the amendment.

Question: "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Put, and *agreed to*.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLEN: Mr. Speaker, it is with the very greatest reluctance at this late period of the session, and at this hour of the evening, that I desire to call attention to my notice on the paper, viz.—To call attention to the case of Colonel George Jackson, commanding 5th Bengal cavalry, with reference to certain very contradictory reports made with regard to him by certain general officers, some of which have been suppressed; and to move, that inquiry should be made into his position as an officer of the "Indian Local Forces," protected by the "Henley Clause"—which guarantees all then existing rights and privileges—and that this case be further considered next Session before he is compulsorily retired. I desire to lay stress on the concluding part of the resolution for this reason, that if we had been able within the last few days, or even within the last few hours, to have some satisfactory assurance, as I had hoped we should have had from the Under Secretary of State for India, acting under the authority of the Secretary of State for India that this case should not be finally closed at the present time, but should, as I think it undoubtedly ought to be, be held over during the period of the recess during which the House will not be sitting so that it should be again considered at the beginning of next year, then I should have been very glad indeed of the opportunity offered me of not taking up the time of the House at all with this motion. But I regret very much, and I am sure the regret is shared by many members on both sides of the House, that we have received no conciliatory or satisfactory assurance from the Under Secretary of State, I understand that in this matter he is acting not in accordance with his own wishes on the subject but in accordance with the instructions which he has received from the head of his Department, the noble lord, the Secretary of State for India, and the difficulty really in this matter is that circumstances do not permit making the reference to the noble lord to get the assurance which we seek, and at present situated; and if that be so, if I have correctly interpreted the wishes, intentions, and instructions of the Under Secretary of State for India, I trust that even now this debate may be cut short by an assurance being given to the desired effect. The case of Colonel George Jackson is one of such peculiarity and I may say unprecedented hardship that it has been already made the subject of debate in another place by Lord Northbrook, late Governor-General of India, than whom no person whatever is better acquainted with the merits of this case because it happened that at an earlier stage of Colonel George Jackson's career he served for a long time as *aide-de-camp* on the personal staff of Lord Northbrook himself, then Governor-General of India. This officer has possessed an unblemished reputation for military services for more than thirty-three years. During that period he served on the personal staff of three Governor-Generals, Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, and Lord Mayo. He has also during the tenure of office as *aide-de-camp* been employed in several *quasi* diplomatic situations, which are in themselves sufficient guarantee of the tact, temper, and judgment with which he has been called upon to perform his duty. He has not only during that time been employed on the personal staff of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at the Delhi Camp of 1865, when he received the assurance of His Royal Highness that he was satisfied with the manner in which the duty was performed; but he has also been appointed in personal attendance once upon the Prime Minister of Nepal, Sir Jung Bahador, and on another occasion, on General Ulysses Grant, ex-President of the United States. The satisfactory performance of the duties which devolved upon him in these situations are in themselves sufficient guarantee that at all events until 1889 no charge whatsoever of want of tact, temper, or judgment could have been brought against an officer who was specially selected for the discharge of these important duties. In addition to these Colonel George Jackson has served in the field, first with the 11th Bengal Cavalry under Sir Dighton

Probyn; and afterwards with Lord Napier in the Magdala Campaign which ended in the disruption of the military power of Abyssinia, and on both these occasions he acquitted himself with credit and renown. Since then he had been with the 12th Irregular Cavalry, also acquitting himself most satisfactorily. In July 1887 Sir Frederick Roberts who was always well affected to this officer from his personal knowledge, selected Colonel Jackson for the command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, for eighteen months service in the field had so deteriorated the quality of that regiment that General Roberts chose Colonel Jackson because of his character, knowledge, and efficiency, for the difficult task of bringing this regiment into better condition. There is no reason to suppose if circumstances and opportunity had allowed, that this task would not have been fully and satisfactorily completed; but immediately on Colonel Jackson assuming the command of this regiment, and before any time had been given him to remedy the defects in its arms, equipments, horses, and the worn out condition of the men because of the service in which they had been engaged—though scarcely credible it should be so, this regiment was ordered into a camp of exercise at a moment when their condition was described as being so deplorable that 200 men were sick out of 536, of whom sixty were deficient altogether. Indeed their state was such that instead of being sent into a camp of cavalry exercise they ought to have been sent to some sanitorium or place of rest. It was under these circumstances that Colonel Jackson did not finish the task so well as he would have done had he been allowed to treat the regiment as they required; but in spite of that he came under the inspection of General Sir Hugh Gough; and I will ask the permission of the House to read an extract of the report dated the 12th March, 1888, for it was an entire contravention of the charge that Colonel Jackson left his regiment in an inefficient state, and that he was himself inefficient to discharge his duty. General Gough said "The Major-General is on the whole satisfied that progress is being made in the drill and efficiency of the 5th Bengal cavalry. It will give the Major-General much pleasure to make a satisfactory report of the state of the regiment." A year afterwards the regiment came under the charge of another distinguished brother, Sir Charles Gough, and in his inspection report, dated 5th March, 1889, he says: "At his recent inspection of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, the Major-General was satisfied generally with the interior economy and drill of the regiment. The 5th Bengal Cavalry is generally in a good state of drill and efficiency. The duties of cavalry in the field are well understood, and the men ride on the whole well; in fact the whole regiment rode over a series of jumps which few other regiments would face without much training." Now these are extracts from the successive inspection, reports of two of the most distinguished officers that we have in the army of India. One of them, Sir Charles Gough, has himself acted with this regiment at a former period of its history, and before it became inefficient in consequence of the campaign, and I further, without the slightest fear of contradiction, assert that so far from the regiment being deficient in any respects it is contrary to the proof so far as Colonel Jackson had time given to him to bring back the regiment to a state of efficiency and completeness. Coming to the unfortunate occurrence which has led to the compulsory retirement of this officer, General Luck, the inspector-general of cavalry in India—of whom he desired to speak in nothing but unqualified praise, came in 1888 for the first time in contact with the Bengal Cavalry, he having been recently appointed to the inspectorship of the whole cavalry, British and native, of India. Unfortunately, he had no previous experience, either of the drill system or of the interior economy of the Bengal Cavalry regiment. From this arose all the misfortunes of the distinguished officer. Speaking from my own experience, having myself in 1848 done similar work under Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clive, viz., to renew and to put in a state of efficiency a regiment of Bengal cavalry. I know the difficulty and the arduousness of the task, and I think it tends to explain entirely why an officer like General Luck, distinguished as he is by a spirit of duty, should have been led by want of knowledge of the particular circumstances of the Bengal Cavalry to make an unfavourable report. The circumstances of the Bengal Cavalry are totally different from those of any British cavalry regiment with which General Luck had been acquainted, for whereas with regard to the British troops the equipment, the arms, the horses, and the entire paraphernalia are provided by the Government, in the Bengal Cavalry all these things have to be supplied by deductions made from the pay of the men. That was the difficulty which Colonel Jackson had to contend with, and for which sufficient allowance was not made. When Colonel Jackson was asked to explain why these defects could not be remedied immediately at a cost of some 60,000 rupees or £6,000, to be obtained in deductions from the pay of the men, and he pointed out that under the orders of the Government there was a limit to the deductions to be made annually or monthly, it appears that General Luck, being then unacquainted with a system with which I admit he is now better acquainted, thought that these explanations on the part of Colonel George Jackson were in the nature of obstruction or unnecessary delay, and he in consequence formed an unfavourable opinion with regard to him. I believe that all that is necessary to put this painful matter right is that Colonel George Jackson should be allowed the opportunity which he so warmly seeks. I believe his position is that instead of being compulsorily retired he should return again and take up the command which is his right and privilege, and from which nothing so far as I know has been proved to justify his removal. Misconduct is not even alleged or proved. Incapacity is alleged against him, but not proved. The proper remedy of allowing him to return, I believe, would give a satisfactory solution to this matter, because, I have no doubt, in only a very few months he will show himself brilliantly to be that able and efficient officer which his previous record abundantly shows him to be considered by all those under whom he has served. Now even at this late hour, if we receive some assurance from the Under Secretary of State that this shall be done, we shall be satisfied. I say he would again rehabilitate himself by showing that he was the good officer that he was always supposed to be, and that he ought to be allowed to serve the remainder of his time and to retire on the large emoluments which his service in India had entitled. That is all the request this gentleman makes, and I believe a more reasonable and moderate one could not be preferred by any man injured, I won't say by false, but by mistaken reports. He alleges nothing in respect of the officer who reported on him—General Luck, except that he did so through a misapprehension not knowing the full circumstances and the difficulties of the case. He asserts that on it being represented to him in July 1889 that these unfavourable reports were made he personally waited on General Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and expressed his willingness and wish to be allowed to take his regiment in the spring of 1890, for the express purpose of vindicating his character from what he believed to be unjust impressions. General Roberts at the time told him that he did not consider it necessary. At that moment Colonel Jackson was undergoing a great domestic affliction, namely, the death of his father which necessitated his return to this country, and General Roberts gave him to understand that he did not desire to put him to any further test, that he was completely satisfied with him, and that he might without detriment to his future prospects, proceed to England to arrange his private affairs. Under these circumstances in July, 1889, Colonel Jackson returned to this country with a full assurance that when his leave had expired and when he came back he would be allowed to take up his command and finish his career. He had not, apparently, calculated on the malign influences at work in his absence, and I think what occurred affords sufficient grounds to justify us in asking that this case shall be referred back again to India and shall not be decided until explanations have been received. I allude with great reluctance to the fact that a certain amount of personal feeling has arisen between General Luck and Colonel George Jackson on account of some difference of opinion arising some two or three years before, when they together filled positions in the cavalry. Knowing the high reputation of both the officers concerned, I believe there can be no intention on the part of General Luck except to do justice to those under his command and I am reluctant even to give credence to such reports, but I think it deserves full investigation, but I do say that when an officer of unblemished reputation, of high distinction and of 33 years' service like Colonel Jackson, finds cold water thrown on the balance of his career, he is entitled to receive a full inquiry into the allegations made against him, and the sense of justice of this House will demand that these allegations should be fully investigated and that any further action should be deferred till the matter is cleared up. This gentleman asks no favour. He says that on account of the circumstances I have mentioned, mixed with a matter of personal difference of opinion, unfavourable reports have been circulated against him in his absence which have not in themselves sufficient foundation, and which if put to the test of practical experience will be shown to have no foundation at all. That this is more or less considered to be the case by the highest military authorities in India is shown by the fact that twice over the Governor-General has referred back to General Hugh Gough reports made on account of contradictory expressions which he said deserved attention, and ought to be cleared up. And, sir, that I am not disposed to say that without sufficient foundation I would beg to be allowed to point out that the Governor-General of India upon the second occasion referred back, General Sir Hugh Gough's reports to him he stated that the discrepancies between one statement and another—one favourable to Colonel Jackson and the other unfavourable—were in his opinion not sufficiently explained, that they were contradictory and in fact one of his notes on the case goes so far as to say that this discrepancy in the report was most unsatisfactory. In dealing with this case in the other House the other day the same unfortunate indistinctness of statement pervaded the speech of the noble lord, the Secretary of State for India. He stated that the object this officer had in view was that he should be allowed to retire on his pension without serving the balance of his time. To that statement a full and complete categorical denial was made by Lord Northbrook who first took up the case, and by Lord Chelmsford himself, an officer of high military distinction, and of great experience in command. I think from those circumstances the case calls for delay. The concluding remarks of Lord Northbrook were to this effect, "The noble lord (Viscount Cross) had stated that one of the reasons why the Commander-in-Chief in India thought that this officer should not be allowed to return to his regiment was that he himself (the Commander-in-Chief) had on two occasions seen his regiment, once at Delhi and once at Lucknow, and that he had formed an unfavourable opinion on it." That was a total misapprehension on the part of General Sir Frederick Roberts. General Roberts, as we know, has, during the last five years in India, exercised a most arduous and difficult command, taking part in that famous march from Cabul to Candahar; but he has during the last four years had under his personal observation four times over I should think, roughly speaking, two hundred regiments at various times and dates. It turns out that this unfavourable opinion expressed by General Roberts is based upon a total misapprehension, and Colonel George Jackson will conclusively prove beyond any power of denial that the memory of General Sir Frederick Roberts has failed him in this respect that he did not see the regiment at all on the second occasion on which he alleges he saw it. Lord Northbrook has stated that categorically in reply to Lord Cross; that statement has never been traversed and no attempt made to meet that point which seems to me to be the most essential point on the question as to whether this officer can or can not be discharged for inefficiency. I have to thank the House very much for the patience with which they have listened to my tedious statement, and I say without the slightest hesitation that the request respectfully made by this officer is one which deserves investigation, and I say that if the Government inadvisedly bring this matter to a sudden conclusion by refusing the officer the request he makes to allow him to return to the command he already holds, and to be allowed to a fair and proper mode of showing there is no ground whatever for the charge of inefficiency made against him, then I say this House not only will have failed in its primary duty of enforcing justice in every alleged case of grievance, but that the Government will also have taken a step which hereafter, on more mature consideration, they will thoroughly regret. I shall be followed, I believe, by several other gentlemen on both sides of the House, experienced in military and Indian matters and as well acquainted with the circumstances of the case as myself. I leave this respectful and firm request, with the fullest confidence in the hands of this House and in the hands of the Under Secretary for India from whom I hope it will receive sympathetic and generous treatment; and I conclude by

moving the second part of my motion which is that this case should not now be summarily closed, but that it should be held over for further consideration next session before this officer is discharged.

VISCOUNT BARING: I rise to second the motion of my hon. and gallant friend, and I do so with some reluctance and hesitation because I regret the growing practice of making this House a Court of Appeal on military matters involving questions of discipline. But I think, sir, Colonel Jackson has been treated so harshly in this case in India and so harshly in this country that I think my hon. and gallant friend was perfectly justified in bringing the matter before the House on this occasion. As my hon. and gallant friend has said Colonel Jackson is an officer who distinguished himself very much in a series of two campaigns; he has been thanked in despatches, he has served on the staff of the Governor-General, he has been employed specially in matters requiring great tact and great temper, and he has always met with the approval of his superior officers who have always been satisfied with the way in which he carried out the duties entrusted to him. After that he commanded the Body-Guard and then went back to his regiment to serve some two years as second in command of the Bengal Cavalry, and during that time he performed his duties satisfactorily and was held in high estimation, and Sir Frederick Roberts formed such a high opinion of his capacity that he selected him as being the officer to take command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry, which at that time was not in a very efficient state. Six months after Colonel Jackson had been in command of the 5th Bengal Cavalry that regiment was inspected by Sir Hugh Gough, who gave a very satisfactory report upon the regiment. That was the result of six months' trial of Colonel Jackson in command of the regiment. Then there comes upon the scene General Luck, of whom I also wish to speak with every respect and deference because we know there is no smarter cavalry officer in the service. Well, unfortunately, General Luck's first report is extremely adverse to Colonel Jackson, and on the 31st March, 1888, General Luck, in his report, stated that "Colonel Jackson wants dash, that he is deficient in tact, manner, temper and judgment." It is difficult to understand how Colonel Jackson could have deteriorated in such a short time to this alarming extent from being one of the best officers in the service. Now, sir, it has not only been proposed that Colonel Jackson should be removed from the command of his regiment, but it is also proposed that he should be compulsorily retired from the service. Colonel Jackson is one of those officers known as local officers in India. He was originally in the East India Company's service, and he came into Her Majesty's service under certain conditions laid down in the Act of Parliament. These conditions are that these officers are entitled to serve thirty-eight years when they got their colonel's allowance, and it has always been understood that they should not be compulsorily retired from service except for three reasons, viz., misconduct, mental or physical incapacity, or proved inefficiency. Well the question of misconduct does not come into this case at all. There is no misconduct alleged against Colonel Jackson. The question of mental or physical incapacity does not come, and the only question we have is this: Has Colonel Jackson shown such proved inefficiency as to justify the Commander-in-Chief of the Government of India in removing him not only from the command of his regiment but from the service, by which he forfeits his colonel's allowance after serving twenty-six years. What is the proof of his inefficiency? My hon. and gallant friend has alluded to the contradictory reports passed on Colonel Jackson by different inspecting officers. General Luck's chief allegation against him is that Colonel Jackson is wanting in tact and temper. Well, that is a very word, but it is not a very easy question to define what tact is. It may be possible that General Luck is himself wanting in tact, and I think I may be justified in referring to that distinguished General Sir George Graves who was appealed to on this question of the manner shown by Colonel Jackson towards General Luck. In December 1888, General Luck had found fault with Colonel Jackson's voice and manner being more harsh than was usual in the service, especially when his junior officers were present. General Sir George Graves was appealed to on this question and speaking of Colonel Jackson he said his demeanour was calm and respectful. There was, he added, personal feeling between the two officers, and thinking the matter over since he had come to the conclusion that Colonel Jackson had more reason to complain of General Luck than had General Luck to complain of him. I think that testimony coming from General Graves is very strong and the question is whether it was the general officer inspecting or the officer of the regiment who showed want of tact on that occasion. Well, as to the question of efficacy my hon. and gallant friend has pointed out that General Sir Hugh Gough's report of March 12th was distinctly in Colonel Jackson's favour, and it was only when General Luck inspected the regiment eleven days after that General Gough gave a contradictory report for which he was also censured by the Governor-General in Council in January 1890. We have the report of General Sir Charles Gough which was also in Colonel Jackson's favour. My hon. and gallant friend has also referred to the report of the Commander-in-Chief, and I listened the other day to the debate in the House of Lords when I noticed that Lord Cross gave particular prominence to that report of the Commander-in-Chief in India in which he said that he could speak on this matter from his own personal experience as he had seen the regiment himself on the two occasions. It is now made perfectly clear the Commander-in-Chief of India was mistaken, and that, as a matter of fact, the Commander-in-Chief never attended at the time the 5th Bengal Cavalry was at the station referred to. I venture to say that I do not think that will prove inefficiency if inefficiency is to be proved by such conflicting statements as these. Let me only take for example the very last report made upon Colonel Jackson before he left India. That was the report of General Sir Charles Gough in March 1889, and Sir Charles Gough on that occasion says: "Colonel Jackson does not possess any real ability as commanding officer, but is a fairly average officer." I should like to know whether "a fairly average officer," of a local army is one of proved inefficiency or whether an average officer of a local army is at the mercy of the Secretary of State, and may be retired from the army without being allowed to continue to serve his time, and earn his colonel's allowance. I venture to say no local officer was ever retired in a similar manner, and I should like to challenge any Secretary of State to produce any similar case in which a local officer in India has been compulsorily retired from service in a parallel case to that which we are now bringing before the House. Lord Cross said there were several instances, but he did not give details of them. He gave one in which he said there was a case of an officer who had command of a regiment which when taken over by him was in good order, but which got in bad order under his command, and he was removed and retired on pension. I am quite sure the logical mind of the Under Secretary will see there is no parallel whatever in the case of an officer obtaining the command of a regiment which was then in good order and which he got into bad order, and the case of Colonel Jackson, who took over a regiment which was in bad order; and it is admitted that, though he did not make as great progress as the authorities would have liked, he at any rate succeeded to some extent in getting the regiment into a much more efficient state than it was when he took it over. I venture to say there is no parallel of a local officer being retired from the army under similar circumstances to those under which it is proposed to retire Colonel Jackson. I think he has been treated in a manner no local officer has been treated before, and I am quite sure treated in a manner in which no officer has been treated in the service. If I may refer to a rather painful case—that of the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards—we had a commanding officer removed from the battalion. That officer was not sent out of Her Majesty's Service; he was continued, and not only that, but he has been since employed, and at the present moment is commanding a district in Ireland. I do not wish to go much further into this matter, but I should like to mention that Colonel Jackson's inefficiency was not considered by the Commander-in-Chief in August, 1889, to have been proved; because at that time, and when Colonel Jackson left India, the Commander-in-Chief was perfectly prepared to give him another trial, although the fact was not made known to Colonel Jackson at that time. Colonel Jackson had no idea it was ever contemplated to retire him until he received the semi-official letter in which he was called upon to send in his papers at the expiration of his leave, and I think there can be no doubt he was hardly treated in this sense when he left India altogether under a misapprehension. I think the Under Secretary rather objects to that statement, and I would ask him this: "The other evening in the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Cross referred in his argument as against Colonel Jackson to a certain correspondence that had recently taken place between him and Lord Lansdowne on the subject. Perhaps I might quote what Lord Cross said on that occasion. He said, "I was quite determined that Colonel Jackson's case should be re-considered if possible, therefore, I went out of my way to communicate with the Viceroy begging him to look into the case and find if there was any loophole in Colonel Jackson's favour. The answer I received was that there was not another word to be said on the subject, that the Viceroy had looked into the whole subject himself, and was satisfied that justice had been done." Those were the words Lord Cross used in the House of Lords the other day, and what I ask the Under Secretary is if he will produce the correspondence to which Lord Cross referred in the House of Lords?" I believe it is customary if an officer of the Crown refers to correspondence and uses it for argument in a case, for him to lay the correspondence on the Table of the House, and I should like to ask the Under Secretary whether he is prepared to give us that correspondence because it may very likely tell somewhat in Colonel Jackson's favour. May I ask him one further question, and that is, whether he will deny this: That the telegram from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India conveyed the impression that Colonel Jackson came home from India under a misapprehension? I do not know whether the Under Secretary will furnish us with any information as to what that telegram contained, and I think we have really to complain of the Secretary of State for India making use of a correspondence and using it as an argument against Colonel Jackson's case when we are not allowed to see what this telegram contained at all. I venture to say that if that telegram had been produced it would have told strongly in Colonel Jackson's favour, that the impression on his mind at that time was that there was a certain grievance on Colonel Jackson's part, and that he had come home from India under a misapprehension on the subject. I will not occupy the time of the House any longer, but I will say that in face of these many inconsistencies, many inaccuracies, and very contradictory reports which we have found in the case that surely it would be more satisfactory to the Secretary for India that he should avoid any appearance of any harshness in this matter, but that he should agree to a suggestion of my hon. and gallant friend, and postpone the further discussion of this case to next Session, when we believe that Colonel Jackson will have more evidence to support his claims.

General S. FITZWYGRAM: I have only a few words to offer in reference to this subject, the facts with regard to which are exceedingly simple. Colonel Jackson was undoubtedly a man of much distinction, but at the same time it does not always follow that a man of education and other high qualities is always the most fitted for the command of a regiment. It is undoubtedly true that as you have your regiments so you will have your army; if your regiments are bad they will fail in war. Colonel Jackson's regiment was inefficient, and since his removal it has improved in a marked manner. What I now have to ask is that the regiment shall not be sacrificed for the benefit and advantage of an individual.

Sir JOHN GORST: I think it is a matter of regret that the time of the House should be taken up by the discussion of the grievances of an individual officer. We have been asked what were the qualifications of Colonel Jackson, and the hon. and gallant gentleman who has just sit down is well qualified to express an opinion on that point; but, inasmuch as this matter has been brought forward, it is necessary that I should offer a few words in reply. No one pretends to say that the old East India Company retained an officer in its service if his military superior pronounced him to be unfit. I venture to say that Sir Frederick Roberts is a far better judge as to the fitness or unfitness of a man to retain the command of his regiment than any of us can be, and Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at the conclusion that Colonel Jackson was not fit for the command of his regiment. I do not say whether this conclusion was right or wrong. It was a matter

which came entirely within the province of General Sir Frederick Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, and the decision which he gave is one that cannot be impugned, unless we impute something in the nature of corrupt motives. The hon. member shakes his head, but I submit again that General Roberts is a far better judge than this House. The House of Commons is not a competent tribunal to overrule the Commander-in-Chief in such a matter. General Luck reported that "Colonel Jackson has had an opportunity which few men get of bringing an inefficient regiment into a state of efficiency; this, after six months, he has failed to do. I recommend his removal from the command at the end of the year, unless a very marked improvement takes place in the meantime." Upon this, General Sir Charles Gough reports, "This is a very unsatisfactory report, and I regret to observe the small progress that has been made." In 1888 there was another unfavourable report from General Luck. He stated that Colonel Jackson, although well meaning, did not go the right way to work; that his officers were not happy, and that many of them would be glad to be out of the regiment. He added, "I fear that the regiment cannot improve while under his control." In 1889, after having inspected the regiment, General Gough reported that "Colonel Jackson did not possess any real ability as a commanding officer." I think it would be most inconvenient and highly subversive of army discipline if this House were to take upon itself to reverse a decision upon a military question of this kind, especially when that decision has been arrived at after careful inquiry by the Commander-in-Chief, by the Government of India, and by the Secretary of State, acting in accordance with the advice of his military advisers. I think the time of the House would be much better occupied in discussing matters of more importance to the interests of our Indian Empire.

General GOLDSWORTHY: I think it necessary to point out that the punishment meted out to Colonel Jackson is of a character which might justify a little further inquiry into this matter. Colonel Jackson has not only been removed from the command of this particular cavalry regiment but from the Indian military service. I think that some consideration should be given to his case in order that we may ascertain whether in view of the former good service of that officer and the high character he has always maintained some means may not be found for retaining his services. I appeal therefore to the Under Secretary to withhold the final decision in regard to Colonel Jackson's case until some further consideration can be given to it.

Sir. R. TEMPLE: I have known Colonel Jackson in former days when he was in command of a force marching through a mountainous and difficult country, and I am quite satisfied that at that time at all events that gallant officer was possessed of tact, temper, and judgment. I hope that Her Majesty's Government may be able to see their way to extend some consideration to Colonel Jackson in view of the character, reputation and popularity which he possessed in former days. It is perfectly true that it is inconvenient for the House of Commons to take upon itself the office of a court of appeal in these matters, but at the same time it must be remembered that this House is the grand inquest of the nation, and if there be any doubt as to the advisability of the decision that has been arrived at, I hope Her Majesty's Government will at all events suspend their final judgment with regard to it until next session.

Sir WILLIAM PLOWDEN: I hope Her Majesty's Government will not hastily endorse a decision that must necessarily entail upon Colonel Jackson a heavy pecuniary loss. I may venture to suggest whether the Government may not very well be appealed to to reconsider their decision in the matter, and to consider whether in removing this officer from a position which he may not be competent to fill they ought to inflict further punishment upon him by removing him from the Service.

GENERAL Sir L. PELLY (Hackney, N.): I agree with the hon. baronet who spoke just now that everything depends upon having an efficient officer commanding this particular regiment, and I would be the last to say one word as intervening between General Sir Frederick Roberts and any officer commanding the regiment. But there are two points to be considered. One is that Sir Frederick Roberts has erred in supposing that he twice inspected this regiment—and I think he will desire to correct that error if he has made it. And secondly, is it right that an officer with such a record as this one should be removed not only from the command of a cavalry regiment, but from the Service altogether, under such circumstances? I have known this officer many years. Colonel Jackson has served with me on the staffs of three Viceroys, and his services should not be forgotten. It is for the Secretary of State to determine whether it is not possible to find him employment elsewhere.

Sir J. FERGUSSON: It ought to be borne in mind what is involved in the suggestions which have been made. No one likes to be hard on an officer who has done good service, and has won the respect and friendship of those with whom he has served. But those who are responsible have to consider the efficiency of the army and justice to other officers and to the public. Colonel Jackson has been removed from an appointment for which he was deemed unfit; and it is suggested that he should be retained in the Service for six years, until he is entitled to a retiring allowance of £1,100 a year. Now that provision is intended for officers who have discharged their duties satisfactorily; and to say that a man shall be entitled to earn that allowance by nominal duty seems to be trifling with the interests of the army and with the public interests, as well as doing an injustice to officers who have performed their duties satisfactorily.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, Ince): I think there must be something in this case that has not been communicated to the House. Colonel Jackson appears to have been selected for the purpose of restoring efficiency to an inefficient regiment, and in that task he seems to have failed. I contend that while it may be perfectly right to remove him from the regiment on such a ground, it does not appear to be a sufficient cause for turning out of the army an officer who was actually chosen for this very difficult duty. While I deprecate making the House a Court of Appeal in such matters I would still urge upon the Secretary of State that the case appears to require further investigation before a final determination is come to.

VISCOUNT BARING: I wish to ask the Under Secretary whether he will produce the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, which has been quoted by Lord Cross in the other House, I also wish to know if he is aware of the existence of a telegram sent by the Secretary of State to the Viceroy in March of this year, in which he said he was not altogether satisfied with the propriety of retiring General Jackson?

Sir JOHN GORST: I cannot answer that question without notice.

Mr. SEYMOUR KEAY (Elgin and Nairn): I have on the paper a notice of motion in favour of giving the people of India a voice in the raising and administering of their own revenues, but, in view of the enormous importance of the questions which are raised by it, I think it is impossible that the subject can be adequately discussed at the time; and in order to suit the convenience of the House I shall defer my remarks to a future occasion.

Question put and agreed to. House in Committee.

Sir J. GORST rising at a quarter to nine o'clock, at which time there were only three members in the House, said: As I have had the advantage of issuing a memorandum which those hon. members interested in the subject have no doubt seen, the remarks I shall make will be as brief as possible. As the Committee is aware there are three years which come under review; the year ending on the 31st March 1890, the year ending on the 31st March 1891, and the year ending on the 31st March 1892. In regard to the first of these years I have nothing whatever to add to the observations I have made in my memorandum: it is the year which is alone technically before the Committee. All I have to say as to the year ending on the 31st March 1890 I said in August last year. The surplus which was then predicted has been practically realised, and the variations in the expenditure as then estimated have been so infinitesimal that they are not worth troubling the Committee about. The most remarkable feature in connection with the year ending on the 31st of March, 1891, is the great and extraordinary growth of the surplus every time it comes under review. At the time the Budget estimate was made—in March last year—the surplus was estimated at Rx. 270,000. When I made the statement in this House in August, 1890, it had grown to Rx. 1,870,000. When the revised estimates were stated in Calcutta by Sir David Barbour in March of the present year, it was Rx. 2,787,000 and to-night I am able to announce that the final surplus will be no less than Rx. 3,665,000. The greater part of that increase is due to the alteration in exchange. When the estimate was made in March of last year, the sudden inflation of the rupee by the legislation in America was not anticipated. The Committee will remember that about a year ago the price of silver was extremely good owing to American legislation, and the effect of that was greatly to raise the exchange value of the rupee, and to save the Government of India from a very large expenditure amounting I believe to Rx. 2,500,000. That really practically accounts for the surplus as predicted in March last by Sir David Barbour. The rise of nearly a million that has taken place since that date is attributable to a general increase of revenue in almost every item except opium, and a reduction of expenditure which is not altogether a matter of congratulation because it is merely a postponement of certain large items of expenditure which were expected to fall within the year ending March 31, 1891, but which have practically been carried over to the following year, and the year ending 31st March, 1891, is therefore enriched at the expense of its successor. With regard to the year ending 31st March, 1892, the year now current, and which although it forms no part of the official resolution before the Committee is one upon which the interest of the Committee is mainly concentrated. The surplus which was estimated by Sir David Barbour was only Rx. 115,600, and I am able to announce that the surplus is now estimated at Rx. 396,000. Even if the more favourable estimate I announce is realised it is a very considerable reduction on the surplus of Rx. 3,665,000. I account for much of the falling off in the Indian revenue—for Rx. 1,156,000 of it—by the fall in the rupee. The rupee in 1890-91 realised 1s. 6d.·11, and in the present year 1s. 5¼d. Besides the fall in the rupee there is a fall in the opium revenue of no less than Rx. 361,500, and although in the very latest accounts from India the falling off in the opium revenue will be compensated for in a great measure by the reduction of Rx. 300,000 in the opium expenditure, that is not from a revenue point of view a subject of congratulation, though it may be from the point of view of the hon. gentleman the member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith). It means a much smaller crop grown in Bengal, therefore the opium revenue will be still further depreciated. Another great item of reduction is the cessation of the grant from provincial revenues. In the previous year, a sum of money was taken from the provinces for the needs of the Imperial Government, and that sum is paid no longer. What is meant by that is that a larger portion of the revenues of India is spent locally on local improvements and for local interests, and a smaller part is spent on Imperial objects—on the maintenance of the army and other less advantageous expenditure in the immediate interests of the locality. It is very satisfactory to find that, notwithstanding the general deterioration of the financial position which I have called attention to, that the land revenue continues steadily to increase, and in the current year the estimate of the increase of the land revenue—whose results are seldom less than the estimate and very often more—is 307,000 tens of rupees. The expenditure is increased. The general items of expenditure—as will appear from the figures I have laid before the Committee in the printed memorandum—have increased all round. I have always told the Committee in all the statements I have ever made since I have been Under Secretary for India that a general increase of expenditure all round is to be looked for every year. As the civilization of India increases so war expenditure upon armed force continues. The Government does more, and, therefore, there is greater expenditure. The only thing to take care of Indian finance is that your expenditure—though it may be expected to increase all round—shall not increase faster than your revenue. If you keep the increase of expenditure within the increase of revenue you may regard the financial condition of the country as satisfactory. And there is one more great increase in expenditure, which I wish the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was present to congratulate me on, that is the restoration in full of what he used to

be pleased to call the famine account, and what I have always called in this Committee famine surplus. The history of this famine surplus I have very often stated to the Committee, but the name "famine account" has always been too much for me, and I believe that an erroneous idea prevails, and always will prevail in the world as to the exact nature of that famine surplus. What it really is is a surplus of revenue over expenditure, kept up by the Government of India from year to year for the purpose of lessening the disaster which is caused in any particular year by the expenditure consequent on famine. That surplus was fixed in years of financial prosperity at one and a-half million tens of rupees. It has of late years fallen below that amount, because the Government of India did not feel justified in putting on additional taxation for the purpose of realising surplus; but in the year I am now speaking of the surplus of one and a-half millions of tens of rupees for famine insurance was restored in its fulness. Now I should like to call the attention of the Committee to some figures which are to be found on pages from nine to twelve of the printed memorandum which has been circulated. These figures are a contrast between the revenue and expenditure for the year ending 31st March, 1889, and the estimated revenue and expenditure of the current year. Although the actual sterling payments of the present year are greater than in the year 1888-89, yet inasmuch as the exchange value of the rupee is to be estimated higher than in 1889, it so happens that the actual number of rupees the Government of India have to pay by reason of silver instead of gold payments is almost the same, and therefore the gambling element of Indian finance, by variations of exchange, is eliminated from these two years. Now, if the Committee will compare the figures of 1888-9 with the figures for the current year they will see that the revenue has increased by Rx. 2,408,000, and that the expenditure has increased in the same period Rx. 2,329,000, thus showing an improvement in the financial position by Rx. 79,000. If the Committee will examine the items which make up the increase of revenue, the result will be found to be eminently satisfactory. There has been an increase in every single item of revenue with one exception—opium. Though the gross increase is Rx. 2,408,000, there is a decrease on the opium revenue of Rx. 646,000. Of all the increase in the various items that upon Land Revenue is most satisfactory. It is grossly Rx. 1,010,000; and it is to this sustained and continuous growth of land revenue we must look for signs of the general soundness of Indian finance. Now, turning from the increase of revenue to the increase of expenditure, amounting to Rx. 2,329,000, the Committee will observe that the expenditure steadily increases, as I always said it would, in nearly every department. The only departments in which there is no increase but a decrease are also eminently satisfactory. There has been a great reduction in the payment of interest on debt, owing to the conversion of the debt some years ago by which the ordinary debt is subject to a much lower rate of interest. Under the head of interest on debt, there is a reduction of Rx. 810,000. There is another decrease equally satisfactory on the Railway Revenue Account of Rx. 732,000. Earlier in the evening some hon. member, referring to the extension of railways, said the railways are profitable to the country, and said truly that Indian Railways return $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the capital invested. That is perfectly true upon the capital invested in India; but inasmuch as most of the money with which these railways have been constructed has been borrowed in England, the interest has to be paid in gold; and owing to the fall in the rate of exchange the profit of $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. which would otherwise be realized by Indian Railways is turned into a loss, and every year the revenues of India are charged with a certain sum in respect to the excess of railway expenditure over railway receipts. I do not know that this is altogether to be considered a loss to the country, because the gain of railroads, not merely in a military point of view, and not merely as a protection against famine, but the commercial prosperity stimulated is quite worth some charge on the Indian Exchequer. But it is satisfactory that this charge has been reduced by no less than Rx. 732,000. All other items of expenditure have slightly increased, and I do not know that there is much to be said upon them, except with regard to the military expenditure. This has been very large owing to the necessity, first of all, of a great outlay upon special defence works and then the re-arming of the Indian Army due to the discovery of improvements in the efficiency of weapons. One other thing I must call attention to, and that is to some rather curious figures on page 21 of the statement I have circulated, which gives the figures of Indian trade for 1890-91. This year, 1890-91, was remarkable for the extraordinary fluctuations in the silver market owing to the fact of a Bill being introduced in April into the Congress in the United States, making it compulsory upon the United States Government to coin on certain amount of silver. Subsequent to the introduction of that Bill—I do not say in consequence of it—the price of bar silver in London rose from $43\frac{7}{8}$d. per ounce in the beginning of April, to $54\frac{5}{8}$d. on September 3rd. This was the culminating point, then there was a break down, and the price fell to 45d. in the beginning of November, and has remained at something like that price since. Now, again, I will not say that this was in consequence of what had happened in America because I do not want to involve myself in the controversy which comes upon this silver question, but it is worthy of remark that contemporaneously with the rise in the value of silver, there was an extraordinary check in the exports from India. In April and May these exports had been higher than in any previous year, and the imports of merchandise into India at the same time were stimulated, the imports of treasure into India being enormously increased. Taking a survey of trade during the months January to June in the last five years, the following are the results, all the figures are interesting. The surplus of exports over imports which had been Rx. 18,173,000 in 1889-90, and which had averaged Rx. 13,726,000 in the four years ending with 1889-90 fell to Rx. 9,939,000 in 1889-91, and the net imports of treasure which had been Rx. 8,763,000 in 1889-90, and which in the four years previous averaged Rx. 6,791,000 rose to Rx. 13,635,000 in 1890-91, and in consequence of this instead of a surplus of total exports in these months which had been Rx. 9,410,000 in 1889-90, and which in the four years averaged Rx. 6,935,000, there was a surplus of imports in 1890-91 amounting to Rx. 3,696,000. Now the exchange on India which had risen from 1s. 4 31/32d. per rupee at the beginning of April was 1s. 8 29/32, in the September, and fell again to 1s. 5 9/32 on November 19th. If hon. members will look at the table on page 21 they will find some explanation of what might excite surprise that even at so low an exchange, trade should justify any demand for bills on India. The explanation is in some measure to be found in the fact that whereas in 1889-90 Rupee paper was sent back from England to the amount of Rx. 67,000; in 1890-91 it was exported from India to England to the amount of Rx. 5,138,000 owing to the higher value measured in gold what securities payable in silver were bearing in London at the time. At the same time and during the winter the rate of discount was very low, the bank rate never rising above four in Calcutta and five in Bombay as compared with twelve in the two preceding years. Another phenomenon was the increase in the circulation of currency notes which rose from 1,577 lakhs at the end of March 1890 to 2,766 lakhs at the end of January 1891. Apparently these notes are not used as ordinary circulation but are retained as a convenient mode of holding a reserve. I do not want to enter into the question further, but these facts are worthy of note in connection with the fluctuations in the silver market consequent upon or following the American legislation. Now the Committee will see from the figures I have given that the position of Indian finance is hopeful and prosperous. No doubt the finances of India are exposed to perils from which even the finances of this country are not altogether exempt. There is first the danger of war, but I am happy to say that at the present moment there is in India no prospect of any great war and I hope no probability of any of those small frontier expeditions which excite the condemnation of the hon member for Kirkcaldy, which are undoubtedly regrettable, and to a finance minister most disconcerting. But with Indian finance there is always that uncertain gambling element, the possible fall in exchange, the fluctuations in the value of silver. No precautions can possibly provide against the danger. I do not know that the fall in the value of rupee is a disadvantage to India itself it is rather with the finances and the Government of India that the danger arises. I know that some hon. members suppose that a finance minister habitually underestimates his receipts and overestimates his expenditure. No prudent minister can do other than leave a large margin, for with the possibility of a fall in exchange which no prudence can foresee it would be most disastrous if a very close estimate of receipts and expenditure were made so that a fall in the value of rupee brought about a financial crisis. The estimates are cautiously framed because of the uncontrolled element which the Government cannot eliminate from Indian finance. Then from the financial point of view there is the disadvantage of a probable loss of opium revenue. I do not expect that the hon. member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) will sympathise with me in that, but as I have pointed out it is an element which has to be met and provided for in Indian finance, and with this revenue steadily declining as it has for many years it is impossible to feel any confidence that the moderate estimate of the present year can be relied upon. Then there is the danger of an increase in military expenditure. I hope the excessive military expenditure in India has now entirely come to an end. The special defence works are almost completed, but besides these special defence works there is always the danger of having to spend large sums in India on additional and fresh ordnance stores. It seems that no sooner is one weapon settled and adopted for the army, then within a few years the weapon is superseded by another entailing the necessity of constantly rearming the troops in India and the probability of being called upon unexpectedly to incur large expenditure on this account is one of the great trials of a finance minister. Last and not least the Indian revenue is always liable to be disturbed by famine. If I had had to address the Committee a fortnight ago I should probably have had to draw a somewhat gloomy picture of the risks which the revenue of India would have to meet in the current year from this awful scourge. But in the last ten days, the danger of anything like a general famine or of scarcity what would affect the finances of India, and cause a large increase of expenditure has, thank God, disappeared. At the moment I am now speaking there is no probability of any such famine or scarcity in India as will to any appreciable extent influence revenue or expenditure. There is some scarcity likely to occur in Chingleput and other districts of Madras, and in some districts of the North-West Provinces, where no doubt relief expenditure will be required in the course of the year, and some loss of revenue from scarcity; and though I deplore the sufferings of the people this scarcity will not be likely seriously to affect the revenue of India. I think the House will probably take in connection with this statement and hence the latest intelligence which could be procured about the present prospects. It is contained in a telegram received from the Viceroy to-day; it is dated Simla, and was sent with a view of being read in the House on this occasion. It runs as follows:—"Agricultural prospects. Present position as follows: Madras—No change of any importance since my telegram of the 28th July. Prospects critical in parts of five districts; prices rising slowly. Present monsoon turning to continuous light rain. Relief measures sufficient. No ground for apprehension of widespread distress. Bombay—Good general rainfall except in part of Deccan, where sowing operations suspended. Prices stationary. Bengal—Good rain has fallen throughout the Province. Prospects of autumn crops good. Winter rice crop backward. Prospects improving in Orissa, where there has been deficient rainfall. North-West Provinces and Oudh—Good rain has fallen throughout the Province. Prospects greatly improved. Agricultural operations progressing satisfactorily. Prices fluctuating. Punjab—Good rain has fallen throughout the Province. Dry lands in need of more rain for sowing operations. Prices fluctuating. Central Provinces, Assam, Coorg, Lower Burma—Prospects continue favourable. Berar and Hyderabad—Cotton in good condition. Agricultural operations generally progressing satisfactorily. Parts in need of more rain. Central India, Rajputana—Prospects greatly improved, except Bikanir. Agricultural operations generally progressing satisfactorily. Improvement in fodder. Upper Burma—Prospects continue favourable. Young crops suffering from want of rain. Prices not higher." I think the Committee will agree with me that upon the whole that is a favourable and reassuring report, and the Committee may feel some confidence that whatever partial distress there may be in certain less favoured districts the revenue prospects of India were on the whole not unsatisfactory.

Resolution proposed: That it appears by the accounts laid before this House that the total revenue of India for the year ending March 31, 1890, was Rx. 85,085,203; that the total expenditure in India and in England charged against the revenue was Rx. 82,473,170; that there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure of Rx. 2,612,033; and that the capital outlay on railways and irrigation works was Rx. 3,173,390.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire): I think the Committee must have listened with much interest to the statement just made, and more especially to the last piece of very important intelligence with respect to the agricultural prospects in India. It will certainly be a great relief to the House and the country to know that the great disaster which threatened India a short time ago has, by the providence of God, passed away for the present. Of the statement just made, sir, I may say it was of a somewhat optimistic character, but I congratulate the right hon. gentleman and the Committee on the fact that for the last two years there has been a considerable surplus in India. But I must express my great dissatisfaction with the exhausted state of the House in which that statement was made. It is a most extraordinary thing that at the tail end of the Session, and at a late hour at night, a handful of members should be called upon to deal with these matters affecting the welfare of 220 millions of people. I regret that at this late hour we should begin a discussion of such profound importance to our vast Indian Empire. Our previous discussions were of little value so far as the people of India are concerned, they dealt with a mere fragment of a question, or personal matters, or subjects of no importance to the vast masses of the population; and only now at nine o'clock do we take up the question of taxation which concerns this enormous population. By a little accident or a point of order, I was debarred from bringing before the House a motion of very great importance in regard to which I believe I represent the feelings of the great mass of the Indian people and I know there will be great disappointment in India that the motion has not been discussed. I ask the indulgence of the Committee while I deal with two or three points which fall within the consideration of the finances of India which raise questions of very great importance to the people of India, who look to this House to give attention to. I do not at all share the optimistic views put forward by the Under Secretary. Looked at merely from the point of view of an English Finance Minister I can understand that the finances of India seem in a tolerably sound state; but looked at from the point of view of the oppressive taxation the Indian people have to endure; looked at from the point of view of the opinion usually held in India regarding the injustice of this taxation, and the expenses of our system of government I do not think there is any room at all for the self-congratulations we have heard. Throughout India there is great discontent with the amount of taxation, its nature, the manner in which it is levied, and the enormous expenditure of the Government in India. There is one tax stands out above all others as exciting the largest amount of odium, and which is most oppressive, as it affects the physical welfare of the people. I mean the Salt Tax. Since the beginning of the century this tax has increased by leaps and bounds, and it now stands all over India at five times the amount it was in Bombay at the beginning of the century. At the beginning of the century the tax in Bombay was half a rupee a maund, it is now two and a half rupees, in Madras, it was nine annas or just over half a rupee, it is now two and a half rupees, five times as much. When you consider that salt is one of the most absolutely necessary articles of diet, that it is the only article with which to season the otherwise tasteless rice; that the use of it is absolutely necessary to keep human beings in health it is a most serious matter that we should raise its price from time to time. Mr. Pringle Kennedy stated at the last Indian Congress, that there are millions of men and women and children who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, their moral and intellectual faculties blunted by lack of cheap salt." I am told the present tax on salt amounts to 16 times the prime cost of production. (An hon. Member: 26 times.) My friend says 26 times. I have come across a statement that it amounted to 25 times the prime cost of production, but from what I have been able to gather I imagine it is a fair average to take it at 16 times the prime cost of production. I would ask the Committee what the people of England would think if salt, or sugar, or coffee, or milk, or any article of necessity were taxed here in the same manner, and I wish to call the attention of the right hon. gentleman the member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) to this point, as I am told he is a great financial authority. The fact is that these poor people in India have to reduce their consumption of salt to the uttermost possible needs. The result is that the consumption of salt in India is 10 lbs. per head whereas in this country it is 80 lbs. per head, and 50 lbs. per head in France, showing how severely this article of necessity is reduced by the monstrous tax that is placed upon it. I hold that upon the very first opportunity we ought to take off the last addition which was made to the salt tax some three or four years ago, and which brings in a little over a million to the revenue. I will pass from the salt tax to what is perhaps the most important tax, to what may be called the sheet anchor of Indian finance—I refer to the Land Tax which brings in a little over twenty millions net annually. The main source of revenue is the Land Tax, and I wish very specially to lay before the House the strong and unanimous opinion of the Indian Imperial Congress, that our mode of assessing it is fatal to the prosperity of agriculture. Representations were made to me in India as to the ruinous effect upon cultivation of assessing and raising the Land Tax every thirty years. In one portion of India, in Bengal, the tax is a permanent tax. No doubt hon. members are aware that Lord Cornwallis made it permanent in Bengal, but unfortunately when that was done a large mass of the cultivators were shut out, but the fact that Bengal has a permanent Land Tax has, naturally, conduced to the creation of wealth in that part of India; it is the only part of India in which, probably, you find a wealthy middle class. But in all the rest of India it is liable to be reassessed and enhanced every thirty years, and the knowledge of this is fatal to any real improvement. The cultivating class live in terror of their rents being raised on their own improvements just as we have seen in Ireland, you have very poor cultivation as the natives are unwilling to make those permanent improvements that alone can render the country tolerably productive. In fact there is a great analogy in the condition under which the Indian peasantry live and the Irish peasantry before the land legislation of the last ten years. My belief is that we shall never see India protected from the danger of famine until we encourage permanent irrigation all over India. What is the best means of irrigation in India? The best method of irrigation is the ancient native one of wells and tanks, the work of the ryots. Where you have a well or a tank in India, you have a belt of prosperity around you, and the object of our Government ought to be to give every encouragement to these methods of irrigation, and the indispensable condition of securing it is to give a permanent settlement all over India. In a great measure instead of doing this we are standing in the way of those improvements. I believe such a policy could do more to attach India to this country than all other measures put together; it would do more to draw out its agricultural wealth and to limit in the future the destructiveness of those awful periodical famines. Let me tell the House that Lord Canning recommended this policy thirty years ago. He was one of our greatest Viceroys and he came to the conclusion there ought to be a permanent settlement of the Land Tax. He accordingly wrote home to Lord Halifax, who was then Secretary for India, and he elicited from Lord Halifax the celebrated despatch of 1862. In that despatch he said, "After the most careful review of all these considerations her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree, the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country." This wise policy has not been adopted. A short-sighted desire for more revenue has blinded our Indian officials to the true needs of the country, and I do earnestly hope that the anxious time we are passing through, may force the Government of India to face this most urgently needed reform. And I wish to call the attention of the right hon. gentleman and of this House and the Indian Government to this vital question. If we really wish to make something like a provision against famine and if we wish to make the people of India thoroughly loyal and properly interested in the soil; if we wish to provide for the enormous growth of population—and it is an astonishing fact that we have added 29 millions to the population of India in the last ten years—then we must put them from this impoverished land which is clearly over cropped, under manured, and very badly irri gated, over the most of India a terrible struggle for existence is going off, and that the land which is not used is nearly all poor miserable jungle. That is the condition of India at the present time. ("No, no!") My hon. friend opposite does not believe it, but I will make my statement with the authority of the best judges in India that it is so and that this is the view held by all the intelligent natives of the country, viz., that if we are to make provision for this enormous increase of population and prevent them being liable to recurring families we must give them a permanent interest in the soil, and give them every possible encouragement for making wells and tanks and all other improvements. When the land is irrigated it yields ten times as much as in a state of nature, but these costly improvements will not be made by the cultivators on any great scale for fear of the enhancement of the revenue. In India there are about 190 millions of cultivated acres at the present time, and I question if the whole of them produces products of the value of £1 an acre. Therefore I say the question of questions, the question between a country and a poor starving peasantry, and a country of prosperous and well-to-do peasants is the difference between India abounding in irrigation works and India as it is to-day. I have one more observation to make about the agriculture of India. The people now are almost wholly thrown upon the land. There was a time in former ages when many industries prevailed in the villages. Even thirty years ago when I was in India there were prosperous village industries; but what happens to-day? We have flooded India with cheap goods and ground out the native industries. The terrible problem of India is how to feed 285 millions of people of whom 220 millions are in British territory. As I have said nearly all the good land is used up, the old village industries have decayed under cheap imports of European goods, throwing nearly all the population on the land, and the question of questions is to make the land produce enough food for the people, and give a surplus to pay for their manufactures imported from Europe. The only way to deal with the question is to grant a permanent settlement of the land, subject to a small permanent Land Tax. Then the cultivator would feel the land was his own, and he would become extremely industrious and bring out of the soil all it would yield. Our permanent hold upon India depends upon the welfare and condition of the people, and whilst their condition is bad we have no right to expect them to show us any serious loyalty. Let us administer affairs so that they would have much to lose and little to gain by any change of rulers. I will now pass to another large source of revenue, but one which causes much dissatisfaction. The House, I daresay, will at once surmise I am going to refer to the Abkari or excise revenue which yields five millions a year. The House has so decisively condemned the system, both as regards drink and opium, that I will not do more than say that I acknowledge with thankfulness that in some parts of India, notably in Madras there has been an honest attempt to reduce the consumption of strong drink. Great praise is due to the Government of Madras for having in one year reduced liquor licences by 7,000, and this year another 3,000 will be taken away, the result being that about 25 per cent. of the total number will be taken away. I think this Committe ought to express its satisfaction that in this part of India at least the decision of this House has been given effect to. In Bengal also, I understand, there has been a *bona fide* attempt made to do away with the outstills.

Some parts have set the House at defiance, and amongst these is the Presidency of Bombay where the consumption of liquor is rapidly increasing under the stimulus of the Government, and I wish to bring before the Committee a very serious and bitter cause of complaint amongst the population of the Bengal Presidency. I have done so on former occasions and will repeat again what I have said regarding the levying of taxes on the toddy palms. The natives are prevented drawing off the harmless juice of the toddy palm in order to force them into the Government liquor shops where only the strongest distilled spirits are sold, corresponding with our London gin. I have presented many petitions on the subject, and I wish to say it is a piece of gross tyranny in my opinion to make it impossible for a poor native to tap the tree that grows in his own garden and draw a wholesome liquor therefrom, and which, before it ferments, is absolutely unintoxicating. The tax placed on these toddy palms is perfectly enormous, and the result is that these poor people are driven to the liquor shops where they get highly distilled spirits that are immensely more harmful and more likely to cause intoxication. With regard to opium I only wish to make one observation, and it is this. The discussion on opium is so recent that I will only say this, the Government have not denied that the licence to sell opium contains a stipulation that a fixed maximum quantity must be sold, and a heavy penalty is inflicted if the licence fails to drench the natives with this deadly drug to the uttermost extent. I can only call this provision diabolical, and I hope the exposure in this House will put an end to it for ever, as well as to the power of selling those poisonous drugs, Bhang and Ganja. These two drugs are so bad that no human beings, even in the most degraded country, can be found to be tempted by it. I will not deal further with any of the needs of taxation in India; but I will now ask the Committee why it is we require to have such an oppressive system of taxation? And the answer I give to that is that the Government of India is far too costly. This country knows everything by an English standard, by the standard of the richest country in the world. We cannot comprehend the excessively small tax-paying power of the natives, therefore let me give the House an illustration, by the measure of the income tax. In this country now a penny raises somewhat over two millions sterling, and sixpence produces about thirteen millions sterling. In India a sixpenny income-tax would raise about one and a-half million tens of rupees, so that every man in England possesses a tax-paying power of sixty times as much as the people of India, I wish now to say a word upon the military question which is very important. On our military in India we spent last year, in a time of profound peace, twenty-one millions sterling, the largest sum ever known to be paid for this purpose in India in a time of peace. And this does not include what we spent on special defences and strategic railways, I have examined carefully the accounts of India and I have not been able to find any entry of the expense of these strategic railways, and I wish to ask what right hon. gentlemen think of this system of strategic railways which have not, and never will pay the working expenses. So far as I can make out the cost is carried to the capital account of the revenue of India, and not treated as military expenditure at all, though they are as much military expenditure as are the fortifications. So far as I can make out the accounts are mixed up with other railways and put to the capital account, and then we are told that the Indian railways still leave a loss. These railways are of no mercantile value. There is no traffic on them, and they will never be of any use at all except in time of war. I say that if we kept honest accounts we should show a loss on our military expenditure in India of twenty-four millions. And I am sorry to see that Sir David Barbour states that he quite expects a further increase in this military expenditure. He says: "The best conclusion I can form is that the permanent cost of the army is likely to increase, but though it is impossible to fix any limit we may hope the increase will not be very great, at least for a time. I am sure it is time that this House should express an opinion with regard to such a dreadful state of things as this which now prevails in India. We have a military expenditure steadily increasing in time of peace. We have a starving population whose tax-paying powers have been so imposed upon that at last the burden has become intolerable, and it is impossible to squeeze any more out of them. Yet the military authorities go on spending money in a most liberal manner. Let me draw the attention of the Committee to one item of expenditure, which I think will rather startle it. According to page 14 the Indian army pension list has swelled to the total of six millions, of which no less than four and a half millions is for army pensions. No army in the world could sustain such an enormous dead weight, and I believe that in no country is it possible to find a state of things anything approaching this. So far as I can make out the pensions of military officers in India come to more than double the whole pay of the native army. The pension list swallows up nearly the whole of the salt tax, and I say that no army in the world has such an enormous staff of expensive and unemployed officers. The colonels of the Indian army retire on a salary of £1,100 or £1,200 a year. The time of the House has to-day been taken up for several hours in the discussion of the case of one of these officers, whereas there are two hundred and fifty millions of people on whom we are imposing an intolerable burden. It is on behalf of these millions that I am now speaking, they have to bear an intolerable load, and for them I claim an entire change of policy. I speak with some knowledge on these subjects, I have closely studied the question for many years, and I say that if we do not put a check to this wasteful expenditure in India we shall some day find ourselves in an abyss. We need for India a far more economical Government. The people of India are about the poorest people in the world. I do not think that that statement will be disputed. A well-known authority puts the average income of the native at 27 rupees per head per annum. That figure is considered by native authorities to be too high; they say the average is only twenty rupees. Mr. Giffen puts the average income for this country at £34 per head a year, or seventeen times the average income of the Indian native. The income of the Russian is calculated at £10 per head, or five times that of the native of India, and yet Russia is looked upon as one of the poorest countries in the world. The natives of India as a matter of fact are only just able to keep body and soul together. I am convinced of the truth of that. When this state of things is borne in mind, it need not be wondered at that great discontent exists. India is in many respects something like Ireland. We long shut our ears to the cry of that island as we do to-day to that of India. She is suffering from an extremely cruel expenditure squeezed out of a semi-starving population. Look at the enormous salaries we pay to civil servants. In 1878, according to a return I have here, the Civil Service salaries in India amounted to eleven millions. I believe they now amount to thirty millions; and of this enormous sum eighty per cent. goes to Europeans. It is not a matter of surprise, then, that the people of India think they could devise a cheaper method of government, and that they could administer the country at much less expense. They believe that a great portion of the duties discharged by Europeans might be equally well performed by natives. I agree with them. I think that natives should be more largely and more freely introduced into the public service. I am glad to think that some slight improvement has already been effected in that direction; but much remains still to be done. I feel I ought to apologise for the length at which I have spoken. But these matters are of immense importance to the people of India, in fairness to whom they ought to be discussed at a more convenient period than the close of the session. There is, I believe, but one remedy—one effective remedy for these manifold grievances; but it is a remedy which by the rules of the House I am not permitted now to ventilate. Had I been able to speak earlier in the evening, I should have brought forward the unanimous claim of the Indian people to a moderate share in the government of their own localities. When that is conceded to them I believe a great step will have been taken towards relieving India of the danger of ruin in which it now stands.

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I desire to congratulate my right hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for India on the very lucid and interesting explanation he has given to the Committee of the memorandum which has been circulated to all the members of this House. That memorandum, sir, is a very great convenience, and I hope that in future years it may be widely distributed through the medium of the press. I would suggest that it might be circulated throughout India in its present form, as it leaves very little to be desired in the way of explanation of that very difficult, complicated and complex subject, the yearly financial statement. In looking through this memorandum there are many points that have struck me as worthy of attention. Some of them have already been dealt with by my right hon. friend and by the hon. member who has just sat down. Perhaps one of the most interesting features which has not yet attracted the attention of any speaker to-night is the remarkable improvement which has become manifest in the financial arrangements of Burma—our latest acquisition. We have had a good many gloomy predictions in the past as to the future of that province. It will be within the recollection of many members of this House at the time of the annexation of Burma it was predicted that the country would prove a serious drag on the Indian Empire for many years. The memorandum of the right hon. gentleman, however, shows that this year there has been a steady improvement in the revenue of the country and a distinct diminution in the expenditure especially in regard to those items which relate to the police. The improvement in the financial arrangements of Burma is, as I have said, a general one. There appears, indeed, to be a reduction in the receipts in one branch of the revenue, but that is a matter which will be eminently satisfactory to my hon. friend the member for Flintshire. I refer to receipts from excise for there seems to have been a diminished consumption of alcoholic drinks in this newly-annexed province. Then there is another point to be noted in regard to the increased revenue. There has been a large export of rice which show that not only have there been good crops in the country, but that the country is becoming rich enough to send large supplies of food grain of the people to other parts of the world. There is also a largely increased revenue from the salt tax. That is a tax which my hon. friend the member for Flintshire deplores on every occasion on which he speaks on Indian finance. I have no doubt that he does so with the best possible intentions, but I may point out to him, that, notwithstanding the increase of that tax which occurred some two or three years ago, the figures presented to us to-night show that the revenue is increasing, and not only the revenue but the actual consumption also of this most necessary article of food. And I would ask him in reply to his censures upon the salt tax, what tax he would propose to substitute for it. I believe there is no other tax which would answer the purpose and reach the masses of the people, and if the salt duty were abolished, enormous numbers of natives would practically escape taxation. Further than that I believe there is no source of revenue which would be less open to extortion. Returning to the province of Burma there is a considerable diminution, I may point out, in the charges for police. There is no doubt an increased expenditure in some provinces in regard to excise duty, but that increase which is especially marked for Bengal is simply a temporary increase and one that this House will most certainly approve of. During the past year or two there has been a large transfer of the manufacture of spirits from those outstills which were so indignantly denounced—and so rightly denounced by the hon. member for Flintshire some years ago—there has been a large transfer of the manufacture of spirits from those outstills to large central distilleries which has cost a considerable amount of money in the first place, but which will not continue to be a charge on the revenues of the country. There is another increase of revenue upon which the right hon. gentleman is to be congratulated, but about which I am not quite so certain, I confess, that it is an unmitigated gain, I mean the general increase in land revenue. I have indicated that I do not sympathise with the hon. member for Flintshire when he decries the salt tax, and do not sympathise with many of the other ideas which he has put forward. I do not think that India is so heavily taxed as he makes out. I am quite sure that the condition of the poor in India is not as he described it—worse than that of the poor in this country. In my opinion it is not nearly so bad. I am quite sure of this that the remarks of the hon. member for Flintshire on the danger likely to arise from periodical changes in the system of land revenue are well deserving the serious attention of the Committee and of the Government. It is quite true that these periodical settlements must militate against the increase of tanks and against irrigation generally. There is little doubt that these periodical increases of land settlement

give rise frequently to extortion which is much to be regretted. I confess I should like to see the adoption throughout India of the system introduced in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis of a permanent settlement. I venture, however, entirely to traverse the statement of the hon. member for Flintshire that the permanent settlement had transferred the land to the tax collectors. The Zemindars were never tax collectors in the accepted sense of the term; they were only tax collectors so far as they were owners of the soil and were responsible to the Government for the revenue derivable from it. I do not see how Lord Cornwallis could have done anything else than give a permanent settlement to those who were the actual owners of the land. It was impossible to give it to the cultivators because that would have split the land up into minute portions. The next point is with regard to the extention of the railways. We have had this evening some slight discussion with regard to the extension of the railways to the frontier-lines which were described as to some extent military railways. But I should like to point out that there has been a considerable extension of railways in India itself, and I would venture to impress upon the Government that of all forms of famine protection this form of railway extension was the one most strongly insisted upon by a recent Famine Commission which declared that was the only way in which the Famine Insurance Fund could properly be applied, I venture to urge upon the Government of India to take the opportunity of these years, and years of prosperity to protect the country from famine in the future by making these lines, I see in the Budget Estimate for 1891-92 there is a considerable allotment for the construction of the East Coast Railway that is described as one of the protection railways against famine, and the sum of 975,000 tens of rupees is set apart for it. Now of course the Government of India and those on the spot are the best judges of what are the most suitable lines to be chosen as famine protection railways. It is quite true that the East Coast Railway will be of much advantage in many ways. It will give connection for the first time between the great centres of Calcutta and Madras. But I venture respectfully to doubt whether it can really be called a famine protection line. It must travel very near the coast, it must cross the great water systems which flow out to the east coast of India, and it must compete to a large extent with the sea-borne coasting traffic. It is hardly a line therefore that I should consider suitable for famine protection. What is the main use of railways for famine protection? It is that corn may be poured into a country affected by famine which otherwise it could not be sent into. In the 1886 famine the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting food into the more isolated provinces, because there were no railways for conveying it. In the Bengal famine there were facilities for bringing down grain from the upper provinces by rail, and from Burma by sea, and the famine could therefore be satisfactorily dealt with. It does seem to me therefore that in choosing a line for famine protection purposes, the great consideration should be to place it where there are no other competing means of access. I should like with reference to the few remarks I have ventured to offer to the Committee on the subject of a railway extension, and on the improvement of the finances in India, to read a short extract from a pamphlet by Sir Arthur Cotton, as follows: "In judging of the weight of taxation in India we must also take into account the vast benefits of our great public works. The railways gross receipts are 17 millions tens of rupees, and the old modes of carriage would cost at least three times that, that the irrigation increases the produce by 20 rupees an acre, giving 16 millions tens of rupees on 8 million acres, together 50 millions; or by these two things alone a saving of more than the whole taxation, and this beside all the multiplied benefits from other works and by the Post Office, &c., delivering a letter at 2,000 miles distance for a penny for instance. So that certainly if we had abolished all taxation and not spent 300 millions on public works India would have been immensely poorer than she is now." And again: "All that is now wanted is that the Indian Government should have an annual loan of five or six millions at least to cover all public works expenditure, and supply the place of the opium revenue, which it is clear now that England has determined to abolish." It is clear from these extracts that these public works are calculated in a special degree to enrich the country and protect it from famine. I think the provision made of the last year is such as we should congratulate the Government upon, but I do urge them to consider the immense importance of still further extending the railways in those districts of India which are most likely to be threatened with famine.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, N.): I propose only to touch upon one point, and that is the increase of military expenditure in India. That was alluded to by the right hon. gentleman himself in his explanatory statement in which he pointed out that the expenditure for 1891-92 is exceedingly high. Sir David Barbour has pointed out that the increase of expenditure in India of late years has entailed four broad results—an increase of the salt duty, the imposition of a duty on petroleum, the absorption of the famine fund, and the appropriation of certain revenue at the disposal of the local governments. The Under Secretary of State has pointed out that the increase of military expenditure is due principally to the special defence works and cost of ordnance stores. These two increases of expenditure are, I take it, directly due to the connection of the Government of India with the Home Government; they are owing to the association of the Indian military administration with the Home army. That subject was brought forward in the early part of the session with regard to one particular pointconnected with the administration of the army of India and we then got an assurance from the Secretary for War that the matter should not be lost sight of, and that the Home Government would endeavour as far as possible to secure further economy in connection with the amalgamation of the Home and Indian forces. The distribution of the charges for military expenditure between India and the Home Government has been frequently discussed and was the subject of an inquiry by a committee presided over by Lord Northbrook. I cannot gather, however, that any definite settlement has been arrived at, and I should be glad if the Secretary of War had been present and was able to inform us if there were any prospect of such a settlement, and one more favourable to the finances of India as my hon. friend the member for Flintshire has pointed out, of the charge put on the Government of India in connection with army expenditure, more than one-fifth is paid for pensions and retiring allowances. Now if the Indian Government has had absolute power of managing its own army according to its own ideas of economy and efficiency it never would have kept up such a system of enormous pension allowances as now prevails. As to the increase of expenditure on ordnance stores that is I believe the fault of the Home Government rather than of the Indian Government. I should like to know as near as possible with regard to the magazine rifle what has actually occurred between the Home and the Indian Governments. I believe the Indian Government did not want this new rifle at all and considered it was not an efficient weapon. Further than that the Home Government demanded what in their opinion was an excessive price for it. I should like to know how the dispute was settled. I regret again the Secretary for War is not in his place to give this information, but I hope we shall have some explanation of the non-supply of the rifles to the Indian Government and the non-completion of the armament of the Indian army. Finally, I should like to congratulate the Under-Secretary for India and the Indian authorities on the prospects which have arisen during the last ten days of averting the famine which threatened the people of India.

Mr. MORTON (Peterborough): I regret that the hon. member for Flintshire did not have the opportunity of bringing forward his motion to-day dealing, as it does, with matters which were before the Indian Congress last year. We are now fortunately better able to understand Indian affairs than we were, because for six years the Indian people have held Congresses. It may be claimed that we, on this side of the House, represent the Indian people here, while hon. members opposite represent the official classes to whom are paid the millions of which we have heard so much. I gather from the excellent report of the last Congress ——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That is beyond the scope of the discussion allowable in this Committee.

Mr. MORTON: Of course, sir, I bow to your ruling. I suppose I shall be in order in referring to matters of finance. One is as to the request which has been made for the reduction of the salt duty. So far as I can understand that tax it appears to me to be very similar to what was the corn duty in this country, and it is being treated as that duty was treated forty or fifty years ago. The general opinion of those who understand Indian affairs is that it should be really reduced. I think it would be only wise and fair to the Indian people, and I hope the Government will soon adopt that policy. I am in favour of the income tax minimum being raised from 500 to 1,000 Rs. It is in my opinion most unjust that twenty millions a year should be spent in India for military purposes, while only a million is spent for educational purposes. I hope that soon the Government will see its way to give the people of India more extended powers of local government, and I trust too that next year the Indian Budget will be discussed at an earlier period of the Session. I am very sorry the people of India have lost a good friend in the person of the late Charles Bradlaugh, who took a deep and active interest in their welfare and I trust that there may arise other members of this House to fill his place, and to endeavour to promote the better government of India in the interests of our great Empire.

Sir R. TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): In the first place I should like to point out to the Committee that when the hon. member for Flintshire read out the extraordinary document which appeared to compel a licensee to sell a certain quantity of opium, the manner in which he read it out conveyed a wholly erroneous impression. Of course nothing could have been farther from the hon. member's intention than to misrepresent the facts, but nevertheless he unconsciously did so. This form of license is in use only in particular districts on the frontiers of native states over which considerable quantities of the drug are smuggled. The object of inserting in the license provisions as to the licensee taking a certain quantity of opium is to put a check on this unlawful traffic. It is not intended to force the consumption of the drug; but if the licensee is compelled to buy a given quantity, he will be the best agent for preventing smuggling. The fact is that the consumption of opium in British India is diminishing. I entirely concur in what has fallen from the hon. member for Flintshire as to irrigation. "Irrigate, irrigate, irrigate!" should be the great policy of Indian administration, and I contend that hitherto we have done our duty in that respect. Our irrigation works in India are the grandest to be found in any country in the world. We are now spending about three millions sterling annually on relief works, the money is raised in India itself, and the only portion of it spent in England is for materials which must necessarily be obtained in this country. The hon. member has seen the country no doubt in the carpet bagger's style; but it is a marvel that an hon. member of such high culture and large experience should visit that district, and see the expanding commerce, the harbours crowded with shipping, the rivers presenting a spectacle of busy navigation, such as would even astonish the dwellers on the Thames, the vast numbers of passengers crowding the railway stations, the religious ceremonies, the numerous hives of humming busy industry, the people working in the fields with happy and comparatively comfortable homes free from the squalor which is to be seen in this country—I say it is a marvel that the hon. member could go and see all these things, and then come back to this House and tell the story he has told this evening. And as to the rest, I say that they take every care against any possible invasion by Russia. Any agitation there is comes only from a certain class, and that class no doubt had primed the hon. member with all his so-called facts and arguments. (Cheers.) But who are these men? They are not really discontented. They are for the most part, undergraduates of our own universities, the *alumni* of our own schools. I desire to speak of them with the utmost courtesy and consideration. Whatever they are we have made them. They were originally Oriental; but we have brought them up in the paths of European progress and imbued them with Western civilisation and ideas. Naturally, they learned our language and acquired our modes of thought; and with these advantages they indoctrinated hon. members of this House with such views as the hon. member expressed to-night. But it is really nothing

more than a sham public opinion. (Cheers.) It is only a limited class that is concerned—most respectable, I admit, but very limited; and to say that they represent the public opinion of India is the merest sham. The hon. member poses to-night as a kind of modern Cassandra. But the House will be able to see how this kind of process is conducted. We have had a specimen of it at home. Most of us have heard of a book entitled "Darkest England and the Way out of it." But to present that book to a foreigner, and to say—"That is a true picture of merry England," of our happy, beautiful England, would be a farce. Well, I say that the absurdity would not be greater than to present the speech of my hon. friend this evening as a picture of our Indian Empire. (Cheers.) My hon. friend asks what remedy there is for all the evils he has conjured up. He may well ask. The one remedy would be for us to quit the country; to scuttle out of it, and leave the railways to rot. He speaks about the people of India as having nothing to be grateful for to us, they are so poor. But I may tell him that they have a greater margin of actual income over their necessary wants than a large part of the people of London. (Hear, hear.) There is less absolute poverty in India than in many parts of the United Kingdom. What have the people not to be grateful for? They have this, that while before our time they were liable to be harassed and to suffer by fire and sword, they now have security and peace. I should say British peace. Every man is safe in his own home and free to secure the fruits of his own industry, and I can remember the time at all events when they were grateful for these blessings—before the new generation had sprung up—because they could remember the evils of revolutions and constant wars and ravages to which they were formerly liable. We who know India at least know, and this House should know, how great the benefits are to the people of India which our rule has conferred on that great and teeming population. (Cheers.) The hon. member says it is the rule of a Bureaucracy. He says that all power has been taken from the hands of those who supply the nerve, the power, the energy and the trustworthiness of the country, and has been conferred on those who care nothing whatever about the prosperity of the Indian Empire. That is an absurdity in itself. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member says that all the industries, the elegant beautiful industries of the people of India are now perishing in the cold shade of British rule. Now, would anybody be surprised to hear that instead of any falling off, the beautiful, the artistic maunfactures of India are flourishing in the highest degree—(hear, hear)—that India produces works of art equal to, if not vastly superior to those of Japan, and more examples of dexterity and skill than perhaps all the countries of Europe. (Hear, hear.) Moreover, new industries have sprung up. How about all the cotton industry of Bombay—the tea industry, the indigo industry, the jute industry, and many others which are even talked of as rivals and growing rivals to our home trade? The hon. member speaks of the British public, and says that if they only knew all the disadvantages of the people of India they would insist on the sources of revenue being revised. Well, I think if the British public really took the matter up they would remember that India is not exactly to be played or trifled with, because they have vast interests there, and they would ask themselves who is to provide the interest on all the four or five hundred millions of British capital invested there. (Cheers.) The hon. member lastly urged that the true remedy would be a better representation of the Indian people. I would be out of order were I to dwell on that point; but, I for one, as a concession to his views and to the views of the late member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) would be prepared to approve of this, that instead of the Legislative members of the Council of India being appointed they might be elected. (Hear, hear.) I would concede that, just as I would have them elected anywhere else. And lastly, and what is at the bottom of all our financial prosperity, I would point to the results of the late census. Why, sir, in ten years our Empire in India has increased in population by a good thirty millions, irrespective of the increases derived from the acquisition of Upper Burma and other annexations. Now, I would ask, has a greater result ever been known in the history of civilisation? It is not enough to speak of the population being crowded on the land. On the contrary, in many parts the population is sparse rather than dense. And all this time the people, who the hon. member says are poor, are increasing so fast, while at the same time they are solving problems that perplex us at home. They are proving a rival to America; they are exporting rice enough to supply nearly all Europe, and flax seed also in vast quantities. If they are capable of sparing all that for other countries, it can hardly be that the people themselves are so badly off as has been represented. (Cheers.)

Mr. SEYMOUR KEAY: I congratulate the hon. baronet opposite (Sir R. Temple) on one distinct advance which he has made, inasmuch as he has just told us that he has joined the ranks of those who consider that the elective principle should be extended in some degree to India.

Sir R. TEMPLE: May I interrupt the hon. member for one moment? I have always said so, both in this House and elsewhere.

Mr. SEYMOUR KEAY: I am all the more glad, then, to hear that the hon. baronet's conversion is not new. At the same time, I cannot help recognising in him the same official optimist whom we always expect to find representing the Anglo-Indian Services. I have not a word to say against the hon. baronet personally. I have the greatest admiration for his career, as an official career, in the various high positions he occupied in India. At the same time, I cannot help recognising in him merely a first-class official who ought not to be looked to as an authority in regard to the condition of the people of India. The hon. baronet has alluded to hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, who, he says, have been primed with certain views belonging to the National Congress. Now, though it is true that the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India in the debate last year did me the honour of insinuating that I was primed by some association, I do not think that the hon. baronet will join him in that view. He, at all events, well knows that in all the views that I may express to the Committee I have not been primed by any individuals whatever except those whom I have met in long and personal intercourse and observation during the many years I have spent in the Empire of India. Last year the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India told us in his Budget speech that he had little to tell, because there had been nothing but "a dull level of prosperity" shown in India during the year. The right hon. gentleman has said much the same to-night. On that former occasion the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India was followed by the hon. baronet, who made an optimist speech just like that which he has made to-night. Well, Mr. Courtney, I had the honour to follow the hon. baronet last year, and I commented in a few words, as I have done now, on the optimist character of his speech, and ventured to suggest that hon. gentlemen who had occupied, and in many cases worthily occupied, high positions in India, and had reaped advantage, honour and prosperity from the well-paid offices they had themselves filled, did unconsciously reflect that personal prosperity on their view as to the condition of the people of India. It may perhaps amuse the Committee to hear that a comic paper in Calcutta took up the matter on that occasion. *Apropos* of the debate in question it narrated a story of an Oriental potentate who did not know or care much about the wants of his people, but who thought it his duty to have some information; and so he was accustomed to ask his barber every morning when he came to shave him: "Well," he said, "Barber, how are my people getting on?" The barber had a good appointment, and was saving money; and so he was accustomed to reply in these words: "Sire, it is my duty to inform you that your people are rich, and happy, and prosperous." Well, it occurred to this Oriental potentate one day quietly to abstract from the pocket of this barber the gold pieces which constituted his savings out of the salary he enjoyed. He did that and awaited events. The barber came next morning, and the Oriental Prince asked him the usual question—"Well, barber, how are my people to-day?" "Sire," said the barber, "it is my duty plainly to tell you that your subjects are steeped to the lips in beggary and starvation." A cartoon was added in which the barber was depicted as the hon. baronet opposite, and the Oriental potentate was the Under Secretary of State for India. I think the Committee may apply that anecdote for themselves. Well, Mr. Courtney, there are a hundred ways in which, if it were admissible in this debate, I could prove the growing and increasing poverty of the people of India, in spite, not only of the increase of population to which the hon. baronet has called attention, but in spite of all the optimist views of the Under Secretary of State and the fact that the Public Treasury is full. I could prove this, for example, from evidence showing the exhaustion of the soil from the over cropping of the fields, the comparative absence of fallows, and the alarming reduction in the number of cattle, in which nine-tenths of the little capital of the Indian ryot is invested. But I will restrict my remarks on this head to a few words respecting the enormous foreign drain to this country that takes place: a foreign drain, I hold, which is such as of itself to suggest the certainty that the people must be extremely impoverished. I say that history presents no instance in which any country in the world has been subjected to such a gigantic foreign drain as we make, and which has yet remained in any degree prosperous. I have heard it stated in this House and elsewhere that this foreign drain is an old affair, that it has existed for long, and that the natural inference would be that it might safely exist for a considerable time to come. But I desire to impress on the Committee that this gigantic foreign drain is not an old matter, but that it is comparatively new. I have not got the figures with me, and I would not desire to trouble the Committee with them if I had, but from memory I think I am right in saying that this gigantic drain to England has practically, and in serious magnitude, only arisen since the year 1870. Now, twenty years is not much in the life of a nation consisting of nearly 300,000,000 souls, and I hold, therefore, that the argument is totally unsound which would assert that because the drain has been going on for twenty years it is compatible with the prosperity of the people. To make my meaning clear I will ask the Committee to allow me to compare the imports and exports of India at this moment with those of any other European country. It is hardly necessary for me to remind the Committee that the imports of England are in excess of her exports to the amount of 33 per cent. That figure, therefore, roughly speaking, represents the profit England gains upon her foreign trade, a profit of about 33 per cent. Well, the profit in the same way—that is the excess of imports over exports—in France is at this moment 22 per cent. I am aware this also comprises interest on foreign investments. But take a State which has none of these. The excess of imports over exports, even in such a state as Turkey, the most backward of all states in Europe, is at this moment 13 per cent. The excess of imports of all Europe as against the exports of all Europe, amounts to 19 per cent. What is the case with regard to India? Here we have the lamentable fact that instead of there being a corresponding excess of imports as compared with exports, the imports into India are actually less than the exports from India by nearly 25 per cent. Now, Mr. Courtney, I say, fearlessly, that history cannot be adduced to show a single instance in which any other country in the world has been able to sustain such a drain. Let us consider the matter in this way. Last year the exports from India amounted to—I shall speak of tens of rupees, for the sake of convenience, as pounds on both sides of the account—£108,000,000. Taking the average profit of all Europe at 19 per cent. what should be the corresponding imports to India according to the same low average? Taking the exports from India at £108,000,000 the imports to India ought to have amounted to no less a sum than £128,000,000. But what were the actual imports to India? Instead of being £128,000,000 last year the actual imports were only £86,000,000, leaving a loss as compared with the foreign trade of all Europe of no less than £42,000,000 on the operations of last year alone. But that even is not all, it is a well-known law which will not be disputed on either side of the House, that in all cases where National Debt is being incurred, you are bound, as a matter of ordinary economic truth, to deduct the amount of that increase of debt from the imports; in other words, to add the debt incurred to the loss I have stated, so that, as a matter of fact, if we view the trade of India in the same light as we do that of the whole continent of Europe, we have a loss to India during the last year on her foreign trade, of no less than £47,000,000. Now, Mr. Courtney, I hold that that of itself

is sufficient to justify what I have said regarding the ever-increasing poverty of the people of India. But we are always met by a statement by the right hon. gentleman and his predecessors in office, namely, that if it be the case that the people of India, the cultivators of India, are getting poorer and poorer every year, how is it that the Treasury is filled and the land revenue is still collected with punctuality? I quite admit that to an English audience this is a very plausible argument, but it does not hold water when the reason of it is considered. What is the reason why, in spite of what I hold to be the increasing poverty of the people, the land revenue, which is, of course, the main revenue, is so punctually collected, that, as the right hon. gentleman said last year, the arrears were only three per cent.? I will tell the Committee the reason. It is that, unknown to this House, there is going on—I will not say from year to year—but from decade to decade, from period to period, a system whereby the laws which are made in India are altered from time to time, and made to operate with ever-increasing stringency for the purpose of making arrears impossible. Now, at this late hour, I am anxious not to detain the Committee, but I think this is a matter both new to them and of enormous moment, and I propose, with the indulgence of hon. members, to illustrate my meaning by a reference to the last enactment of the hon. baronet who has just spoken (Sir R. Temple), when he was Governor of Bombay. I am sorry the hon. baronet is not at the moment in his place. One of the last acts of the hon. baronet as Governor of Bombay was to pass a Land Revenue Law which at this moment obtains as the law not only of the whole of the Bombay Presidency, but elsewhere where it has been copied. I will mention one or two provisions of this law in regard to the collection of revenue, and the Committee can judge whether these provisions explain how the money is punctually collected from the starving ryots. The collection was made in Western India up to 1879, under a law introduced by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827. Now, let me compare one or two of the provisions under which the land revenue was collected up to 1879, with the new provisions inserted by the hon. baronet the member for Evesham, which obtain to this day, and are the source of that plethora in the Treasury upon which the Under Secretary congratulates himself. In the first place, until 1879, there was an appeal allowed to every cultivator to a higher authority against the revenue collectors' claim, whatever it might be. The hon. baronet withdrew that right of appeal, and under his Draconian Code the ryot is cut off from all appeal. Up to 1879, the law provided that a penalty was to be inflicted on the occupier of the holding if he cut without permission any of the corn over which the Government had the first lien for the land tax, but that penalty was merely the forfeiture of half the corn actually cut. But the hon. baronet provided that the penalty for unlawfully reaping a single sheaf should be double the amount of the whole of the land tax for the year. Now that, I think, I may call a Draconian provision, but there is more to come. It must be remembered that these provisions are actually in force at this day, and this is how the land tax is now collected over the greater part of India. A third provision enforced up to 1879 was as follows—and I think everybody will admit that it was an equitable provision—that the cultivator of the holding should be responsible for for his own land tax, and for that alone. That was so up to 1879. But the hon. baronet changed all that, and by the Land Revenue Act now in force, he has actually ordained that the whole holdings, perhaps of a thousand cultivators in the village or district, are held responsible for the single arrear of one individual. Not only so, but the crops of the innocent villagers may be attached for these arrears, and even their persons imprisoned. Now, I boldly say that nothing more inhuman than this was ever enacted, and I think the Committee will admit that I have not exceeded my duty in taking this opportunity of bringing these matters before them. How, I asked, are arrears possible under such conditions, which demand that before the arrears can occur the life-blood shall first have been drawn, drop by drop, from the farmer of capital and solvency, as well as from the insolvent? And yet the Government and the hon. baronet go about pointing to the smallness of outstanding arrears, and boasting of it as a proof of the mild incidence of their taxation, and of the ease with which it is met from the well-filled purses of a happy and prosperous community. But I am sorry to say the climax is not yet reached; there is worse still to come. Up to 1879 the Act ordained that the cultivator could only be proceeded against for the actual amount in arrear. This again was changed in 1879, and it is now ordained that if a ryot is in arrear to the extent of a single rupee, he can be proceeded against for the whole land tax of the holding for the whole year. He can be charged not only for the instalment due, but for the remainder which is not due, and not only for the principal, but for interest, at a rate unnamed, and a penalty to an amount absolutely unspecified, and which can be increased from time to time at the discretion of the Government. I will only mention two other points which are still worse than those I have given. I dare say all this is new to the right hon. gentleman opposite (Sir J. Gorst), or I am sure he would have taken steps to impress on the Government of Bombay the necessity of revising this hideous Code, as I must call it. Up to 1879 the cultivator could only be foreclosed upon after default had been committed, but now the collector is endowed with the power, if he has "reason to apprehend" that any single person in the village may be likely to make default, at that moment, without default at all, to foreclose, not only on the expected defaulter, but upon the whole district of solvent ryots. Up to 1879 the collector was empowered in case of default, to seize for arrears only half the crops on a holding; and this, I need not say, was a humane provision. These village communities have existed for many generations. They are, as it were, peasant proprietors under Government. The idea of their being evicted from their holdings or left to starve never entered into the policy of former rulers, or even of the East India Company. Half the crop only was accordingly allowed to be seized for arrears. But from 1879 to this day, on account of any arrears, the whole of the crop of the miserable cultivator is liable to instant seizure, and his family are liable to be left to starve, without a grain of corn to feed them during the next winter season. There are many points in the Code of the hon. baronet which I could mention, but I think I have sufficiently shown the Committee how seriously this law affects scores of millions of our fellow subjects. I will only add, therefore, one crowning instance of the iniquitous character of this measure. Up to 1879, under the old Act, the occupier was, practically speaking, a peasant proprietor under Government, subject only to a revision of his assessment every 30 years. He had at all events a practically secure property in his holding, on which he dug wells and made plantations and improvements. So it was until 1879, when this new, and altogether merciless, Code enacted—and the provision is in force at this moment—that, if the tenant of a holding be in default to the extent of a single shilling for a single day, that man is liable to have his entire holding, with his 30 years' lease, together with all his crops, his plantations, his improvements, his houses, and even his very implements of agriculture forfeited to the Government, and himself and family evicted and thrown upon the world absolutely without grace or notice. I think that after hearing these things, my Irish friends may be inclined to say that the little finger of the hon. baronet the Member for Evesham has proved thicker than the loins even of an Irish landlord. I see the hon. baronet has returned to his place. He got £10,000 a year from these half-starved peasants of Western India for filling the office which enabled him thus to reduce them to slavery, by hanging around their necks the millstone of the Land Revenue Code, some of the provisions of which I have mentioned. It is not for me to find the reasons which to his own mind justified him in doing so, but I do ask him this: How does he reconcile his roseate statement to-night with these acts of his own as Governor of Bombay? He has spoken of the increase of prosperity of the people, the multiplication of the population, and other things, but how does he reconcile his idea of increasing prosperity with the fact that he, when he filled the office of Governor of Bombay, found it necessary to pass this inhuman, this more than Draconian Code which I have described? The fact is, that the hon. baronet takes nothing whatever but the mere official Anglo-Indian view. I am not blaming anyone, least of all the hon. baronet, for whom I have always entertained the highest respect, but I say his position to-day proves that the official eyes in India see all these things through rose-hued glasses. They are in the habit of contemplating with deep emotion the wisdom and beauty of their own performances, and they are totally unfitted to pose as authorities on the condition of the people whose affairs they have administered. They are, after all, only very human. Absorbed in the good they have done, they never look on the other side of the question, never take off their coloured spectacles and see things as they are. Looking on one side of the account—the credit side—undoubtedly great benefits have been conferred upon the people of India. I do not deny it, but I say, look also on the debit side of the account, and you will find, unfortunately, that it contains much larger figures than the credit side. The evils, some of which I exposed, are nothing more or less than exemplifications of the fact which we independent Anglo-Indians have long known, but which we have not yet been able to get the House to believe, namely, that there is no hope whatever of bureaucracy ever reforming itself from within, or avoiding the evils and abuses which its self-interest tends to establish under all such unchecked systems.

Question put; Resolution agreed to; to be reported to-morrow.

August 5th.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Viscount BARING (Bedfordshire, Biggleswade): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India whether in a telegram sent by the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy in March or April, 1891, (which telegram was recently referred to by Lord Cross) the following words or words to the same effect, were used, namely: "Am not satisfied with propriety of retiring Jackson. Strong feeling here that he has been hardly dealt with. Would your Government consent to give him another trial as originally intended by the Commander-in-Chief, for there can be no doubt that he came home under a misapprehension."

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Sir John Gorst, Chatham): As I told the noble lord last night it is impossible to answer this question without communicating with my noble friend, the Secretary of State for India. If the noble lord will repeat the question next Session I have no doubt that I shall be able to answer it.

CASE OF CAPTAIN CHATTERTON.

Mr. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for India, whether, if the military authority in Captain Chatterton's case was properly exercised on 11th March, 1869, to take effect on and after arrival in India on the faith of the report upon which he had been suspended from duty, such military authority was legally exercised on or about the 28th of April, 1869, namely after his innocence of the charge had been established, and this officer had been replaced on duty, under Her Majesty's Authority, and been rendered amenable to military control; and whether the injuries and maiming for life have been legally inflicted or not?

Sir J. GORST: At this period of the Session it is impossible to give an answer to a hypothetical question of this nature; but I may inform the hon. gentleman that the case of Captain Chatterton extends as far back as the year 1869, and has been repeatedly considered by successive governments. No injustice has been done to that officer.

Mr. MORTON: Will the right hon. gentleman consider the case in any way?

Sir J. GORST: No case could have been considered more fully. It is quite impossible to consider it again.

EAST INDIA (REVENUE ACCOUNTS).

Order for consideration of report read.

Motion made and question proposed: that this House do agree wit the Committee in the following resolution: "That it appears by the accounts laid before this House that the total revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1890, was Rx. 85,085,203; that the total expenditure in India and in England charged against the revenue was Rx. 82,473,170; that there was a surplus of revenue

over expenditure of Rx. 2,612,033; and that the capital outlay on railways and irrigation works was Rx. 3,173,390."

Mr. W. McLAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I will not detain the House for more than one or two minutes; but I wish to know from the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India whether he can give the House some definite assurance with regard to the Indian Councils Bill next year. It has been a matter of great regret to many members of the House, and I believe to a large number of persons in India that that Bill has not been proceeded with this Session. This is the third Session in which a bill, substantially of the same character, has been before the House. It is perfectly true that the measure did not meet with the approval of some hon. members. Among others the late Mr. Bradlaugh, who took a great interest in Indian questions, and whose death we all lament, was strongly opposed to the Bill; and I myself took the liberty of putting down a motion on the second reading with regard to the elective principle of the measure. It was desired to extend the scope of the Bill; but although the opposition which was offered postponed the progress of the measure, nothing can mitigate our regret that the Bill has not become law during the present Session. I am quite sure the right hon. gentleman will not find fault with me when I say that the constant dropping of the Bill cannot fail to create a very bad impression. It must show the people of India, who take a great interest in the matter, and especially what are called the Congress party there, that there has been no sincere intention on the part of the Government to pass the Bill. I believe it is the fact that Sir William Wedderburn has recently received a letter from the Secretary of State for India, dated the 28th of July, in which he states that the withdrawal of the Bill was not due to any fault of Her Majesty's Government, but to circumstances beyond their control. With all due respect that statement is not altogether accurate. It is absolutely the fault of Her Majesty's Government that the Bill was not advanced and passed into law. It would not have occupied more than two days of the time of the House—one day for the second reading and another to get it through Committee. Therefore to say that it was not the fault of the Government that the Bill was not pressed forward is trifling with the House. I am ready to admit that it has not been the fault of the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India, but of those who have had the arrangement of the business of the House. There was a chance offered in the early part of the Session when the Bill nearly came on by accident, but the discussion upon the previous subject was prolonged, and we never heard any more of the Councils Bill. I think the fact is deeply to be regretted, and I should like to say that when the Government reintroduce the Bill, as I hope they will, next Session, they will reintroduce it in a somewhat wider form, and show a more favourable leaning to the adoption of the elective principle in the provincial councils. It is well known that that was the view of Lord Dufferin, and we have never been told why Her Majesty's Government have gone back from the opinion of Lord Dufferin who, in his despatch, distinctly expressed himself in favour of the elective principle. I trust that the House will receive a definite promise from the right hon. gentleman, the Under Secretary for India, that he will have this Indian Councils Bill brought on fairly and properly for discussion at an early period next Session, and it would also give great satisfaction to many hon. members if the right hon. gentleman will state that the Bill will contain in some moderate degree a recognition of the elective principle.

Mr. MORTON: I would also press upon the Government the necessity of allowing the House to discuss, at any rate, the provisions of the Bill which has been mentioned by my hon. friend. I would further express a hope that the Government will, during the recess, consider the wishes of the people of India, in reference to the introduction of the elective principle into the Indian Councils. In my opinion that is the only proper way of governing the people of India, and the only way in which any legislative measure connected with that country can be properly considered having regard to the interests of India. What I wish is that her Majesty's Government, instead of making another Ireland of India, should consider this question in good time, and now that the people of India have, to a large extent, been educated, that they will take them into their confidence as far as possible. I would also ask the Government to endeavour to bring forward the Indian Budget at an earlier period next Session. Everyone knows that to bring it forward in the dog days as was the case last night, is practically a farce. There were only a handful of members here to consider it although it affects the prosperity and well-being of some 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 of people. Every year attempts are made to dispose of Indian questions without adequate consideration and without proper debate. I have no desire to blame the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India because I do not know that he has had anything to do with the matter, and we all know that he has a very poor opinion of the Government of India, and the way in which India is treated.

Sir J. GORST: I never stated anything of the kind.

Mr. MORTON: I should be sorry to misrepresent the right hon. gentleman, but I gathered that to be his opinion from a speech which he delivered not long ago, and it is certainly the view which the newspapers have taken. This question of bringing in the Indian Budget at an earlier period of the Session has been spoken of hundreds of times before, and what I wish to impress on the Government in the interests of Great Britain as well as of India is the desirability (now that the franchise is being extended, and the people of this country are taking a deeper interest in the affairs of the Empire than they did formerly) of giving us an opportunity of considering these matter at an earlier period of the Session.

The UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir John Gorst, Chatham): I feel grateful to the hon. member for giving me an opportunity of saying a word about the Indian Councils Bill. This Bill was brought in as he has said three Sessions ago. It was brought in in order to make good the pledge given by the Viceroy of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State that two small but not unimportant reforms should be made in the proceedings of the Council—that in the first place the right of interpolation in certain conditions should be given to Members of the Council, and that in the second place they should have an opportunity of discussing the Indian Budget, although no change should take place in the taxation of the country. It was found, soon after this pledge was given, that it would be impossible to carry out what the Viceroy proposed without legislation because the old Indian Councils Act which was drawn apparently for the purpose of repressing discussion was so stringent in its terms that these two reforms could not be carried out without an alteration in the law. Therefore the Indian Councils Bill was brought in. At the same time a further reform was introduced in the Bill which had not been made the subject of any definite pledge on the part of the Viceroy and that was to increase somewhat the numbers both of the Viceroy's Council and the Councils in the various provinces. This Bill, as it stood, was a very small measure. It was a Bill which was to carry out a reform which everybody desired, to which the Government had given their assent, and which gentlemen who may be called "the Indian Congress party," had repeatedly solicited, and there was nothing to prevent the people of India enjoying the benefit of these improvements in the constitution during the last three years, except that the hon. member for Crewe (Mr. M'Laren) and his friends—those gentlemen who profess to represent in this House the opinion of India—chose to use this extremely simple and small measure as a peg on which to hang a discussion of the whole constitution of India and a proposal to introduce into the constitution of India what they vaguely call "representative institutions" as to the nature of which they are not themselves agreed, and the consequences of which they have themselves no conception whatever. Well, although the Bill is a small one, the question which is hung on it is a question of extreme importance, and one which certainly ought not to be lightly passed by the House without ample and complete discussion. In consequence of the appendage which hon. gentlemen opposite themselves placed on this very modest measure of reform, it has been found impossible by the Government in either of the past Sessions of Parliament to devote that time which is necessary to the consideration of a matter so important to the future interests of India. I cannot promise that the House of Commons in the coming Session will have leisure to discuss and decide this great constitutional question, and I am afraid that if the hon. member for Crewe and his friends persist in the course they have adopted for the past three years the people of India will have to wait a little longer before they can enjoy those modest but excellent reforms precursed so long ago by the Viceroy. With regard to the present Session the Government is at least perfectly innocent in connection with the withdrawal of the Bill, because I understand on what I believe is excellent authority that the Bill was abandoned at the special wish of the leaders of the party opposite, and that when certain negotiations took place as to bringing this Session to an early close the Indian Councils Bill was one of those innocents which hon. gentlemen opposite insisted on having sacrificed.

Mr. McLAREN: Perhaps with the permission of the House I may say this—the right hon. gentlemen would not wish that anything he said should be open to misunderstanding—therefore I would like to ask whether he wishes by his speech to indicate that those who are in favour to some extent of the Indian Congress programme should have let this Bill go through without discussion? Does he complain that we attempted to discuss the Bill and widen its scope?

Sir J. GORST: No. I tried to explain that I did not complain of their discussing the Bill; but I did complain that they should take advantage of the Bill to introduce a much larger and more comprehensive measure. It was perfectly in order to do so in this House; but it had the effect of rendering the small reforms projected by the Viceroy of India and Her Majesty's Government perfectly impossible.

Mr. ATKINSON (Boston): I will not detain the House two minutes, for I am not an authority on Indian affairs—and I think that some of those who stand up opposite to speak on them have as little authority as myself. But I do sometimes read matter which is sent to me for perusal. I have read matter sent to me by Committees in which hon. gentlemen opposite are interested, and my study of it has led me to the conclusion that if those hon. gentlemen or those they represent would refrain from stumping India and from telling the Radical people there that they are badly treated, we should have a better opportunity—as the Under Secretary for India has said—of doing good for the people of India. The fact is that all those who wish to do a good stroke, as they think, for Radicalism think they not only ought to do it in every part of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, but that when they have done it there they should detach some of their regular forces and do it in India too. We know that India is not fit for this sort of thing. We know that in the Empire of Russia they tried to adopt English institutions—they tried to establish Justices of the Peace, but the whole thing was a total failure. So it is in India. Therefore I support what her Majesty's Government have said, and I hope we shall have less of this stumping India by discontented ex-Viceroys or anybody else.

Resolution put and agreed to.

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